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Zaire

April 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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The Society

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

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Zaire

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The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

Zaire is the third largest country on the African continent (after Sudan and Algeria) and its most diverse. More than 200 tribes, many divided into significant subtribal groupings, inhabit the country's widely varying geographic regions, which include steaming jungles and cool mountain highlands. Moreover, Zaire's people have been subject to dissimilar influences—those in the east to Arab and in the west to Portuguese (Figure 1). Finally, there are astonishingly wide differences in modernization (Figures 2 and 3). Because of this kaleidoscopic diversity and because the Belgians did little to draw the various regions and peoples together, the shaping of a nation has been extraordinarily difficult.

Zaire's society continues to feel the effects of over 50 years' experience as a Belgian colony. Belgian colonial policy was thoroughly paternalistic, and colonial authorities encouraged Belgian Catholic missions and large Belgian corporations to collaborate in providing more comprehensive social services than existed in any other African colony. The paternalistic system, maintained until the eve of independence, fostered a pervasive sense of psychological dependency among Zairians, and most ordinary citizens still retain dependent attitudes. They still look to the authorities—Zairian officials, foreign employers, or missionaries—to meet their everyday needs, and they are still inclined to blame the authorities for the many privations suffered since independence. Such attitudes appear to be as prevalent in urban areas as in remote villages, although the impact of the colonial administration differed widely from one area to another.

Until just before independence, the continuance of the Belgians in elite positions was assumed, and no preparation was made for meaningful political activity by the Congolese or for their assumption of senior administrative positions. Independence came so

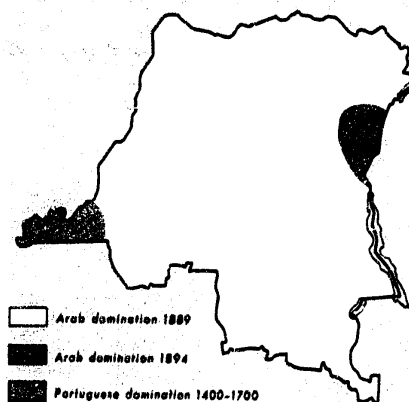


FIGURE 1. Arab and Portuguese domination (U/OU)

quickly that there was not time to replace the policy of paternalism with one of self-reliance. In fact, outbreaks of violence within the first weeks of independence resulted in a sudden exodus of experienced Belgian personnel and a collapse of the colonial administrative structure throughout most of the country. In retrospect, some observers believe that it would have been possible for the Belgians to promise independence but delay granting it for several years so that the Congolese could have been at least partially prepared for their new responsibilities. Others believe that the mistake was made decades earlier and that by the late 1950's the Belgians no longer had a choice. In any event, the society's major problem has been more one of restoring order and creating new institutions than maintaining those inherited at the time of independence, a task which faced almost no other independent black African country.

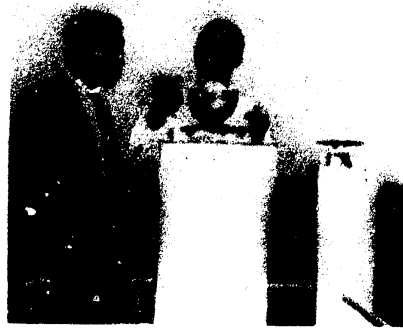


FIGURE 2. Zairian technicians using a solar radiation measuring device at the Meteorological Institute at Binza (C)

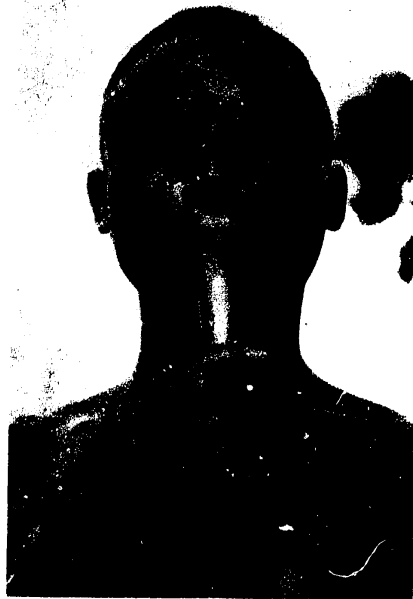


FIGURE 3. Azande man blowing a magic whistle to ward off evil spirits (U/OU)

Twelve years of independence have brought only halting and fragile advances toward national or social unity. The first 8 years were marked by a series of army mutinies, secessionist movements, and intratribal, intertribal, or antiwhite outbreaks attended by disorder and chaos. The result was a wholesale flight of Europeans shortly after independence and continuing dislocations and disruptions for the populace. The most disruptive of all the lapses from orderly government was the so-called Simba revolt, which involved much of the eastern part of the country from mid-1964 to mid-1965. It is significant that the area overrun by the atavistic Simba guerrillas approximates the area where Arab slave dealers had held sway and resisted European penetration until the close of the 19th century.

President Mobutu Sese Seko, the army commander who took control of the government in November 1965, has brought more stability to Zaire than it has enjoyed since the colonial period, but has done so by relying primarily on the ill-disciplined and widely feared army. The stability prevailing since 1968 has permitted badly needed European technicians to return, but in itself this does not contribute to unity. In effect, the fighting among various peoples and groups has been stopped, often because of sheer exhaustion, but the deep-rooted tensions behind much of the fighting remain, and there is no institution which is able to draw antagonistic groups together in a Zairian nation. Mobutu's government is based on personal loyalty rather than on institutions which would endure apart from him. The once extensive administrative structure has deteriorated, and despite some success in rebuilding government services in the cities, much of the countryside has no modern administration at all and is either unstructured or has developed whatever structure the traditional societies are able to improvise.

Although President Mobutu's virtual one-man rule has suppressed the divisive forces that ran rampant during Zaire's first 5 years of independence, these forces continue to exist, and others have emerged. Twelve years after Belgium's abrupt grant of independence, the bulk of the rural population still appear to be more strongly influenced by their various tribal traditions than by any of the new national institutions. By 1972, however, tribal and regional dissimilarities were overshadowed by contrasts between the major urban areas, where modern institutions were more firmly established, and much of the countryside, where local inhabitants had often reverted to precolonial patterns of existence. More important socially than any political transformation since 1960 was the extremely uneven recovery of the

economy. While mineral industries in Shaba Region have flourished, agricultural production in most localities has lagged far behind population growth. Underlying rural stagnation is the continuing deterioration of a once-extensive transportation network and severe reductions in basic social services in outlying areas.

Cultural contrasts within major urban areas appear to be even more fraught with social and political tensions than the rural-urban gaps. Spectacular material progress in some urban areas has attracted massive migrations from the countryside, but relatively few of the new urban residents find regular employment or adequate housing. The conspicuous affluence of the new Zairian elite—mostly senior government officials—deepens feelings of privation and alienation among the majority of urban residents who have abandoned tribal homelands without finding a foothold in the modern sector of society.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society (U/OU)

Most Congolese are loyal to their tribal communities. Those who are aware of the national and regional governments often regard them as alien institutions, and in any case, these governments are so remote they seem unreal to the rural resident and in many cases even to the city dweller.

Although about 80% of the Zairian population is Bantu, there are wide differences among the Bantu groups, wider indeed than among Bantu in any other African country. No tribal group dominates the country as a whole. Some tribes, such as the Kongo, Luba, and Lunda, however, dominate in the areas in which they live, have controlled considerable territory in the past, and are very much aware of this heritage. The Kongo, Luba, and Lunda are also the most modernized of Zaire's tribes. With independence and the end of the effective Belgian security apparatus, long-smoldering animosities among tribes erupted into extensive warfare.

Tribal resentments are often based on modern rather than on traditional differences. For example, the success of the modernized Luba had long galled the tribes into whose areas they had migrated, and when the Belgians left, the Luba who were living outside their own tribal areas were viciously attacked by local tribes which had not been as successful in adjusting to the modern world. Another factor making for disunity is that not all tribes have benefited equally from independence. The Luba and, to some extent, the Kongo feel they have been shortchanged with

respect to positions of power and influence with the central government, and there is a climate of mutual distrust. At the same time, some of the less aggressive tribes resent the many Luba and Kongo who hold civil service jobs requiring education and training. Finally, there are strong antagonisms existing within a tribe, most recently among the Luba in Kasai-Oriental Region.

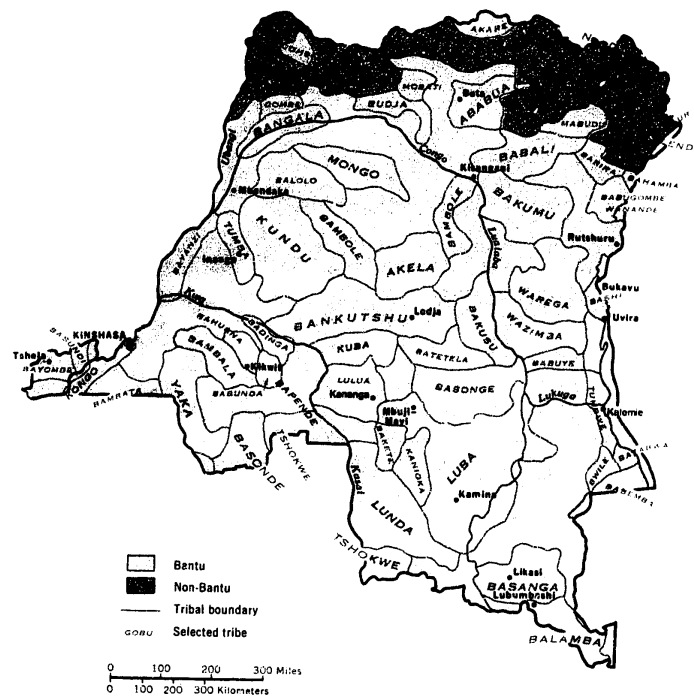
1. Tribal groups

It is extremely difficult to give a general description of indigenous Zairian society because of the many differences among the tribal groups. Figure 4 shows the approximate location of about 65 of the 200 tribes. Also, paucity of data has made it difficult to formulate a simple statement about the existing relationships of the main tribal groups, and even informed observers regard their findings as tentative. It is unknown to what extent precolonial tribal traditions are still valid, for example, and this problem has been further compounded by the social disorder which afflicted the country following independence. Most tribal groups, however, are still set apart by differences in their traditional social organizations and their spoken languages, and there are also wide variations in the responses of particular tribal groups to modernization.

No single tribal group dominates the entire country, but there are several large groups which dominate particular sections of the country. Available data are too scarce to calculate their exact numerical strengths. The national census of 1970 was intended to establish the number of Zairian citizens in each locality; it did not tabulate them by tribal affiliation. Hence, estimates of the present size of the tribal groupings are rough approximations, based primarily on sample surveys of the whole population conducted by Belgian demographers during 1955-58 and on various studies of particular tribal groups, mostly dating from before 1960. As of 1958, the strengths of the eight largest tribal groups inhabiting the former Belgian Congo were as follows:

	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
Mangbetu-Azande	14
Mongo	12
Luba	10
Kongo	9
Warega	3
Lunda	2
Yaka	1
Kuba	1

The four most important tribes are the Kongo, Lunda, Luba, and Mongo. By a very rough estimate,



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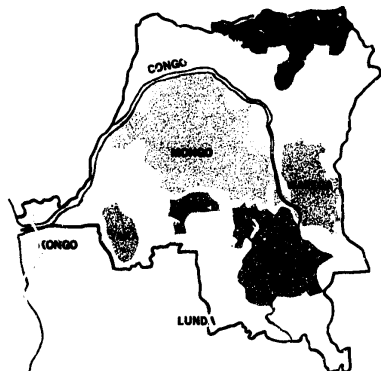
FIGURE 4. Tribal groups (U/OU)

they probably account for about one-third of Zaire's total population. All are Bantu. Three are numerically large, with between 2 million and 3 million members each, while one, the Lunda, has less than half a million members. Three—the Mongo excepted—have strong traditions of past political unity and political domination and are more or less concentrated in a core area (Figure 5). Despite this concentration, however, there are other ethnic groups living in the areas in which these tribes are dominant, and only the Kongo have a territory pretty much inhabited only by themselves. In Kinshasa, however, they are challenged by other ethnic groups. The Mongo, in contrast, is the only tribe that is dispersed throughout most of the country. Each of these four tribes has benefited significantly more than its neighbors from the

economic development of the past 70 years, and this fact, more than any other, may explain their dominant role.

a. Kongo

The ancestors of the Kongo cluster of peoples are thought to have migrated to what is now Zaire from the Lake Chad area about A.D. 500. They first lived to the east of their present location but were slowly pushed westward over the centuries by the Yaka tribe. A number of internal migrations led to the formation of various tribes within a fully functioning kingdom called the Kingdom of Kongo, which was at its height between 1500 and 1650. The memory of the past greatness of this ancient kingdom still exerts a powerful force among the Kongo peoples. Their most



Major Ethnic Groupings in the Congo

FIGURE 5. Major ethnic groupings (U/OU)

prominent postindependence leader, the late President Joseph Kasavubu, consciously invoked the old kingdom in building political support, and his ideas of political separatism stemmed from his appreciation of the earlier kingdom. A number of tribes make up the Kongo tribal cluster; the five major ones are the Basundi, Bampangu, Kongo, Bayombe, and Bazombe.¹

In the early 1960's, the largest portion of the Kongo group, about 1.2 million, inhabited Zaire, but there were about 400,000 in Angola and 340,000 in Congo (Brazzaville). By 1969, however, almost all of the 400,000 Kongo in Angola had come to Congo (Kinshasa) as refugees, and as many as 2 million Kongo tribesmen may now be living in Zaire. Until the Belgians made Kinshasa a bustling city during this century, there were few Kongo villages within 20 miles of it; now Kongo tribesmen probably make up about half of the city's population.

The Kongo (Figure 6) retain a strong sense of cultural unity based on their belief in a common origin, on the continuity of their historic traditions, and on sharing the same type of social organization.

¹There are differences of opinion about the rendering of African names in English. In this chapter the prefix "Ba" (the plural form) has been dropped when referring to some of the larger and better known tribes.



FIGURE 6. Kongo woman sorting cassava outside her home (C)

based on matrilineal, exogamous clans (*kanda*). While all of these integrative factors distinguish them from neighboring groups, the most powerful unifier is their common memory of the past splendor of their kingdom. Even to this day the words *Kongo Dia Ntotila* (Kongo Kingdom) serve as a sort of cultural rallying cry for most Kongo.

The Kongo refugees from Angola have been successfully integrated into Zairian life, and in 1972 almost none of them remained in refugee centers. Various international and foreign groups, both lay and religious, have contributed to their successful integration by providing health and educational aid. Most of the refugees have become successful farmers who produce enough to feed themselves and a surplus to sell to markets in Kinshasa. Their success, however, has aroused jealousy within the communities in which they have settled, and friction with non-Angolan Kongo peoples over ownership of land and squatters' rights is increasing.

b. Lunda

Roughly 400,000 Lunda reside in Zaire. Most Lunda live in eastern Angola (Figure 5), and a few are in Zambia. The three major groups are the Northern Lunda in Kasai-Occidental Region and about whom little is known; the Eastern Lunda, who live in Zambia and who founded the now extinct Bemba Empire; and the Southern Lunda in Shaba Region and in Angola. The Lunda apparently arrived in their present areas in the 15th century. They were politically and socially organized under an emperor in small independent chiefdoms which combined or fragmented according to an individual leader's personal strength (Figure 7). When the Lunda invaded a new area, they confirmed the conquered hereditary rulers in office and reserved



FIGURE 7. Lunda chieftain in Dilolo (C)

for themselves an important role. The tribute they asked was not large, and in return the conquered got to share in the government. Persuasion and the ability of particular leaders were key factors in holding together the tributary kingdoms which made up the early Lunda empire.

The Southern Lunda maintain an organized hierarchy headed by a paramount chief, or *Mwant Yav* as the Lunda refer to him. The present *Mwant Yav* is David Tshombe, brother of the late Moise Tshombe, the leader of the Katanga secessionist state during 1960-63. Although a thoroughly modern man and a Methodist, he understands and deeply respects tribal traditions, believing that no modernization is possible which is not built on such respect. This view, which is rare, enables him to bridge both worlds effectively, and his strong stabilizing influence has helped the Southern Lunda to withstand occasional harassment from Zairian authorities who belong to other tribes.

c. Luba

The Luba, who number roughly 2.2 million, are a mixture of peoples and cultures whose origins are obscure. Their core area is northern Shaba Region and southern Kasai-Oriental Region, but they are also dispersed widely outside this area. Their tribal lands formed the basis for the separate state Kalonji tried to establish in 1960.

The Luba (Figure 8) are an energetic and ingenious people who rapidly learned European techniques and formed an essential part of the work force at nearly every important mine, railway, and river port in both Kasai regions. These factors caused resentment on the part of other tribes, not unlike that directed against the Ibo in Nigeria by the northerners among whom they migrated and by the local non-Ibo peoples with whom they shared territory. Luba friction with the Batetela stems from the late 19th century, when the Batetela were allies of the Arabs in destroying Luba chiefdoms and forcing the Luba farther westward. When the Europeans arrived, the Luba, unlike most other tribes, volunteered to work in European mines and railroads. This response arose because there was overcrowding in Luba territory, because some Luba chiefs had established personal friendships with individual Europeans, and because the suspicious Luba and other neighboring tribes preferred giving their Luba slaves to the white man for his schools rather than their own sons. Rapid assimilation of European techniques brought the Luba considerable wealth and with it the resentment of local non-Luba peoples among whom they lived. Even before independence was granted, these longstanding

FIGURE 8. Luba smoking a *tshilo* (U/OU)

resentments of Luba dominance caused many flareups. The Lulua tribe was particularly anti-Luba, and in 1959 and 1960 fierce and bloody fighting between the two peoples broke out around Luluabourg (now Kananga). Many of the Luba returned to the traditional tribal territory around Mbuji-Mayi, but in the absence of any preparation for the influx, widespread famine resulted; the Luba refugee population still outstrips the area's capacity to provide for it.

In 1969 the most serious tribal conflict in the Kasai area occurred within the Luba tribe, between the Tchibanda and the Mutu-Wa-Mukana. The Tchibanda are lowland Luba people who are poorer than the Mutu-Wa-Mukana, a highland Luba people. The conflict probably has many historic roots but was also aggravated by the influx of Luba refugees from Kasai-Occidental Region. The dispute has split the congregations of the Presbyterian Church in the area, and one tribal faction, the Mutu-Wa-Mukana, has formed a breakaway church which the government refuses to recognize.

Since independence the Luba have not fared well, largely because they have not found a political solution to fit their social and economic characteristics. Their dispersal throughout several provinces was a strong argument for joining a nationally based political party, but the only such party was one headed by a Batetela, Patrice Lumumba, who clashed with the Luba leader, Kalonji. Another political alternative for the Luba, a locally based political party, was thwarted by the fact that the only issue uniting non-Luba tribes in Kasai was their common hatred of the Luba. The political solution the Luba favor is one of patiently infiltrating the civil service, the military, and other institutions while awaiting their eventual takeover.

d. Mongo

The Mongo (Figure 9) form the largest single culture cluster in Zaire (with perhaps as many as 2.7 million members) and are found in all regions except Shaba. They have little or no tradition of political unity or large kingdoms, a major feature distinguishing them from the Kongo, Luba, and Lunda tribes. Nevertheless, the different tribes in the Mongo cluster have a strong sense of a common culture identity, stemming from the fact that all tribes trace their ancestry to a mystical figure called Mongo; many refer to themselves with pride as the children of Mongo.

Inexplicably, in view of their diversity, the Mongo consistently backed a single party in 1960 (that of Lumumba) while the far more united tribes (Kongo,

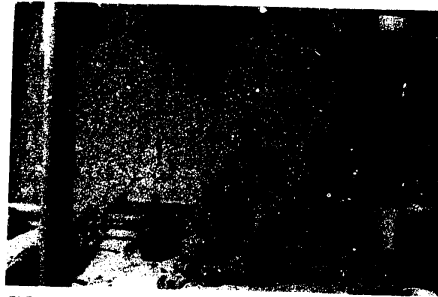


FIGURE 9. Mongo housewife (U/OU)

Luba, and Lunda) divided their support among many political parties. The fact that Lumumba organized an efficient campaign among the Mongo was a contributing factor but probably was not decisive. Two related tribal groups, the Kusu and the Batetela, also voted to support Lumumba. The existence of unified backing for one political party in five out of the then six provinces was one of the few factors that made a single state even remotely feasible. Mongo cultural unity is one of the few unifying factors in the country.

e. Minor Bantu tribes

Of the many remaining Bantu tribes, three—the Yaka, Kuba, and Warega (Rega)—are of particular interest. The Yaka (Figure 10), a tribe with roughly 200,000 members, inhabit the area between the Kwango and Kwilu rivers along with a number of other minor tribes. They have been influenced to a major degree by the Lunda to the east and only slightly by the Kongo to their west.

The Kuba (also known as Bushongo) inhabit the area between the Sankuru and Kasai rivers in Kasai-Occidental Region. Originally of Luba origin, they now have a distinct culture which appears to be more complex and stronger than many other indigenous cultures. Their political organization includes a king (*nyimi*), court dignitaries, and officials, who reside in Mushenge, a town that is regarded as the Kuba capital. The Kuba (Figure 11) have preserved an accurate genealogy of more than 120 Kuba kings and still observe the ancient ritual at the king's court. A new king, Boke-Shanga, was installed in January 1970. The Kuba political organization also developed a council of elders (*kolomo*) in which the practitioners of various arts are represented. The council's function is to advise the king, and its existence has insured that



FIGURE 10. Yaka tribesmen; the man on the left is a chief, and the feather cap he wears is a symbol of his rank (C)



FIGURE 11. Kuba man (U/OU)

Kuba artistic traditions have been carefully preserved. Kuba art, for example, is still made and used chiefly to express the culture. In brief, the Kuba are conservatives who are very much attached to their own culture and preserve it with an unusual degree of strength. This strong attachment to what is uniquely their own has made them less interested in Western ideas.

The Warega, who number roughly 700,000, inhabit the dense, hilly rain forest in Kivu Region and parts of

Oriental Region. The Warega are short people—only slightly over 5 feet tall—and are also rather slim. Their ancestors were part of a major migratory wave of Bantu from the northeast. They live in well-built log houses which usually have five to seven rooms. Warega women have more advantages than women in many other African tribes. A distinctive feature of Warega society is the *bucame* organization, an age-grade association with social and political functions. The Warega put great emphasis on their social grading system and on the importance of social relationships. They are consequently quite uninterested in the supernatural world; this lack of interest is characteristic of many east African but not of Zairian tribes. The Warega have not produced any well-known leaders, in part because their society accords status to the group of elders, not the individual person. Westerners know them best for their outstanding ivory sculpture.

The Warega differ from one area of Zaire to another. Those near the town of Shabunda in central Kivu Region are the most advanced, as they have had the longest exposure to Western education. Because they have better jobs than Warega in other areas, they are often envied for their success.

f. Non-Bantu groups

The Mangbetu-Azande (Figure 12) are a cluster of peoples straddling the Zaire-Sudan border; at least 3 million are settled in Zaire. They have developed a common social pattern despite diverse origins. Their political organization includes a royal clan whose members rule quasi-independent states, often composed of conquered groups of different origins. Under this strongly centralized system, a large number of formerly separate tribes adopted Azande cultural patterns and developed a strong cultural unity. The Mangbetu are politically and linguistically distinct from the Azande, but because their sociopolitical organizations are so similar, the two peoples are usually discussed together. Other non-Bantu peoples, such as the Lugbara and Tutsi, also inhabit Haut-Zaire and Kivu Regions.

g. Pygmies

The area's earliest inhabitants, the pygmies, are thought to have arrived during the Stone Age. They are regarded as one of the oldest peoples in the world, and no one knows for certain where they came from. They call themselves Mbuti but are known by various names in Africa. Europeans or European-educated Africans call them pygmies after the Greek *pygmaios* meaning a cubit (about 18 inches), a name referring to



FIGURE 12. Although the Mangbetu are a Central Sudanic people and the Azande are Adamawa-Eastern, the two are quite similar in organization (left) Mangbetu men (right) Azande woman (U/OU)

their shorter than average stature (Figure 13). Pygmies, however, have unmistakable features other than height which set them off from Negroid peoples. Their legs are short in proportion to their bodies, they are unusually muscular and powerful, and their eyes are set wide apart.

Over the centuries the pygmies interbred with Negroid peoples who first entered the area as invaders. They form a small part of the population, roughly 100,000 persons; the largest group, and least affected by racial mixing, are those who live in the northeast, primarily along the Ituri river. They are basically hunters and gatherers but have modified this primeval pattern by trading with neighboring Bantu tribes. Their society has been very effectively described by an anthropologist who lived among them, Colin Turnbull, in *The Forest People*.

2. Non-Africans

The non-African population, which numbered about 80,000 in 1972, is culturally, occupationally, and linguistically heterogeneous. Even the Belgian majority, about 40,000, is much less homogeneous

than one would suspect. The roughly 15,000 Portuguese and 15,000 Asians (Indians and Pakistanis) are distinct minorities among those non-Africans who are longtime residents of Zaire. The Asians in particular stand apart; their social and economic positions are inferior to the Belgians, who look down on them, and Africans dislike them because they often hold jobs Africans want (Figure 14).

The Belgian population has a number of cultural and linguistic cleavages. For example, in the late 1950's, over half of the civil servants, over four-fifths of the missionaries, and about half of the settlers were of Flemish extraction. This meant that most of the Belgians belonged to a group which had received minority treatment in their own country and, perhaps even more important, was identified with the controversial issue of full cultural autonomy for Flanders and Flemish-speaking areas. Thus, even though many settlers in the former Belgian Congo desired autonomy from Brussels and the maintenance of white supremacy, they disagreed as to whether an autonomous Congo should remain united. The settlers in former Katanga Province (now Shaba Region) were



FIGURE 13. Bambuti pygmies, Ituri forest. Their musical instruments are the flute and *kisa-zi*, a small wooden board with strings across the bridge. (U/OU)

especially anxious to set up their own separate regime, and their hostility toward the central government was adopted by some African politicians in Shaba as independence for the whole Congo became imminent.

Finally, the Belgian settler community also was occupationally divided, with about 38% of employed Belgians in commerce, about 19% in agriculture, and about 16% in industry. A high percentage of the Belgian farmers, who felt more strongly than other Belgians that the Congo was their home, lived in Haut-Zaïre and Kivu Regions, two areas of high population density and consequent scarcity of land. These conditions made for exceptionally strong racial antagonism between the Belgian and the African communities in the two regions and for disagreements with Belgians in other areas. Thus, the Belgians failed by their own example to demonstrate the advantages of unity or compromise to the Zairians and, indeed, seemed hardly more able than the Africans to handle dissent.

3. Traditional and modern society

Zairian society consists of a multitude of tribes in flux between traditional and modern social

organization. Although there are far too little data available to measure each tribe's movement in this respect, it is clear that some have progressed much more than others. The Kongo, Luba, Lunda, and Mongo are in both absolute and proportional terms far more modernized than other Zairian tribes. Nevertheless, all Zairians have been affected by modern influences to some degree. In comparison to other black African countries, a large proportion of the population—about 20%—lives in urban areas. Zaïre's high rate of urbanization, however, obscures the fact that many Zairians who have gone to the cities, particularly since independence, live in the limited world of the tribal ghetto which does not prepare them to participate in modern society, although it makes them aware of the artifacts associated with modern society. In brief, Zaïre's urban population is appreciably larger than its modern population.

In the traditional society, which remains the way of life for the majority of Zairians, the extended family is the basic unit, even though there are wide differences in social organization. The extended family generally takes in three generations, including any unmarried or widowed relatives, second or third wives, and the children of divorced or deceased mothers. Units larger than an extended family may consist of lineages, clans, subtribes, and tribes, depending on the tribe. The role each unit plays in a system of tribal organization varies among the different tribes, but in all tribal systems the needs of all members are provided for, including justice, government, social order, and often religion. Each traditional tribal system is a complex integrated whole which adequately provides for its members. As 20th century modern society intruded, the whole traditional system began to break down, and by the 1960's only a few tribes were able to function entirely as intended. In



FIGURE 14. Asian shopkeeper and African customer in food store in Mulungwishi (C)

some cases, the traditional organizations disintegrated completely, but in most cases some traditional aspects continue, other functions are carried out in modern ways, and still others are not carried out at all. The result is that the individual finds himself in a confusing world and experiences insecurity to a much larger extent than an individual in a purely traditional society.

Among Zairian tribes in the east and north, succession and inheritance are patrilineal, that is, passing from father to son. Among the tribes of the southwest, they are generally matrilineal, that is, passing from a woman to her brother's children. In the two Kasai regions and in Shaba Region both customs are found.

Zairian law recognizes three kinds of marriage—civil, religious, and customary. Civil marriage, governed by written law, was established by the Belgian colonial administration. Religious marriage is more widespread, although for diverse reasons many professed Christians are not married in a religious ceremony. Such marriages usually receive legal status if properly registered. Customary marriages have legal status by virtue of the general recognition granted to native customary law; in urban areas, however, such marriages must be registered.

In urban areas, traditional attitudes concerning women's place in society have changed, although generally women's progress in Zaire has been much slower than in many countries in east and west Africa where women are prominent socially as well as in business and in public life. Few Zairian women enter politics, very few are fluent in French, and most do not accompany their husbands to European social functions. The Second Commissioner for Kinshasa, Kani Aniangi, the Regional Commissioner for Bas-Zaïre, Madimba Nzuziwa Mbombo, and Mrs. Mobutu Sese Seko are exceptions. President Mobutu is an ardent advocate of women's progress and is promoting their education and advancement in the civil service, the police, and the army.

A significant development since independence has been a decrease in the average villager's exposure to the outside world, caused by the breakdowns in administration, transportation, law, and order. Contact with mutinous soldiers, with aggressive white mercenaries, or with the rebels in 1964 have reinforced the villagers' reluctance to expose themselves to strange elements. A lone stranger, however, is nearly always offered hospitality and is regarded as a guest of the village. In urban areas, most Zairians will accept white foreigners who prove themselves friendly and without racial bias, but they remember the

condescending attitudes of the Belgian colonials and are acutely sensitive to any indication of racial prejudice.

Traditional political systems in Zaire were diverse, ranging from small independent communities to large-scale kingdoms, some despotic, others gently incorporative. Perhaps the most significant traditional influence is the strong cultural uniformity and sense of identity which continues to bind together many tribes, including some of the largest. The sense of tribe is in general so strong that politics have developed almost exclusively along ethnic lines. A political party, for example, sometimes uses traditional symbols of authority and invokes ancestors and magic.

The major factor influencing the growth of modern society in Zaire was the development of an advanced money economy. By 1955, for example, about 10% of the total African population, or over a million persons, had wage-paying jobs. The urbanization which accompanied the advent of a money economy tended to strengthen ethnic loyalties. Thus, in the cities different minorities became aware of each other and discovered they detested each other, whereas in the rural areas a tribe might never intermingle with another tribe.

There is an absence of comprehensive data on income to utilize as a base for defining upper, middle, and lower class membership. Roughly, the elite or upper class probably is no larger than 5,000, including all family members. It includes a small clique of military officers, political leaders, cabinet officials, and about 100 African businessmen. Most members of this elite speak French, but not all have a modern education. While some have advanced university degrees, others have never gone beyond grammar school. As a new elite, it tends to be highly and ostentatiously class conscious. There is no talk of egalitarianism or any effort to remind the elite of the responsibilities accompanying its privileged status.

The upper middle class may have somewhere in the neighborhood of 200,000 members. It consists of about 60,000 teachers plus government employees, military and political officers, and university students. This group, which may also be called a lower elite, is much less uniform in terms of level of income and living style than the power elite.

The bulk of the middle class consists of wage earners. There are about 2 million persons, including some 500,000 workers and their families, who may be included in this category. There is a considerable range of education, income, and skills in the middle class. Skilled industrial workers feel they are much higher on the social scale than common laborers or

agricultural workers. They and their families are well dressed and well fed, and they own such luxury items as bicycles and radios (Figure 15). In general, they have steady employment and can count on regular wages. Common laborers are at the bottom of the middle class, both in income and in social status. Their wages are rarely above the legal minimum, which is insufficient for even subsistence, and many male laborers perform odd jobs after working hours.

Agricultural workers fall into a middle category between the highly skilled workers at the top and the common laborers at the base of the middle class. Agricultural plantation workers are usually employed on foreign-owned plantations. Their earnings consist of small cash wages, a hut, some land for raising their own foodstuffs, and important fringe benefits such as medical care and primary schools. Prior to independence, the level of living was appreciably better on the plantations than in other rural areas, but it has since deteriorated significantly so that plantation workers are only slightly better off than they would be if they returned to their native villages (Figure 16). Many plantations have closed down, leaving workers without jobs. Those plantations which continue to function have been hit by serious inflation and have reduced the commodities and services they provide workers.

Some self-employed farmers appear to be better off than those who work on plantations. Self-employed farmers usually produce rice, coffee, cotton, tobacco, or palm products and sell these crops to European owners of warehouses, gins, or crushing plants. These small independent farmers were seriously affected by the 1964-65 Simba rebellion and by the mutiny of mercenaries in 1967, and they are just beginning to recover.

The lower class consists of the unemployed and of persons engaged as part-time domestics, kitchen workers, watchmen, and errand boys. There are perhaps as many as 1 or 2 million persons in this category, with some half a million unemployed.

All of those who are a part of the traditional society live in what is basically a classless society, governed by older men whom the young will succeed in turn. Many of these societies, however, are being affected by the growing tendency of young people to leave their villages for urban areas in the hope of bettering themselves. Few are able to find much fulfillment. In December 1967, *Carrefour des Jeunes* (Crossroads of Youth), an organization formed by a foreign ecumenical group to help youths in Kinshasa, estimated there were 50,000 to 100,000 unemployed young men in that city alone. Crossroads officials

detected among the youth a growing mood of hostility toward the government and found it difficult to reach the young men because without employment, tribal ties, family ties, or schooling, they remained apart from the society. Even those who remain in their home villages suffer some alienation. In fact, during the Kwilu revolt of 1963-64, led by Pierre Mulele, *jeunesse* (youth) became synonymous with "rebel."

In a newspaper article in early 1970, an American journalist reported his impressions of the generation gap in Congolese society. The old were addicted to drugs, while the young scorned the practice as one engaged in only by farmers. Parents stayed in the villages while the young migrated to cities to seek out modern ideas and ways of life. Communication between the two was made difficult by their different approaches to life. Nevertheless, in Zaire the young did not seem to reject the values of their elders with the same ferocity shown by their counterparts in the West, and they still showed great respect for the authority their parents represented. A number of young secondary school graduates of lycées felt their generation's most important task was to eliminate tribal hatreds and violence. They were against such customs as the bride-price but favored and wanted to retain the extended family.

4. Languages

In Zaire there are at least 700 vernaculars, and consequently there is a real problem of communication. During the colonial period, the Belgians felt that it was unquestionably beneficial for the Congolese to continue using indigenous languages and therefore followed a policy of using them rather than French or Flemish as a medium of instruction. When attempts to use one indigenous language failed, they adopted four *lingua francas*, but in practice others were used in some local areas. This policy greatly retarded the development of a modern elite, and its overall effect was to divide rather than to unite the many ethnic groups. The government's policy is to encourage the use of a common national language—French—in order to foster unification of the country's immensely diverse ethnic groups. The government also actively discourages the use of local vernaculars.

There are no reliable statistics on the number of Zairians who speak, read, and write French fluently, but it is estimated that about 5% do so and that another 35% are more than acquainted but less than familiar with French. For all Zairians (except the children of the educated elite), the primary language is a local vernacular. French is taught in school, and



FIGURE 15. A skilled worker inside his home in Lubumbashi (U/OU)

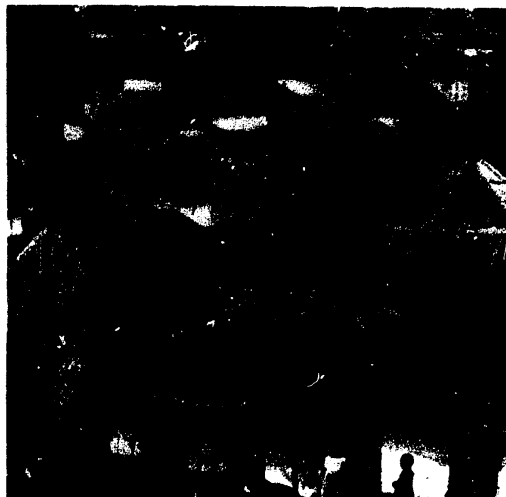


FIGURE 16. A typical village in northern Kivu (U/OU)

children often learn a second and occasionally a third language to communicate with people who are not members of their ethnic group or their branch of the ethnic group.

About 75% of the population speak a Bantu language, but this does not mean that they can communicate with each other—merely that they speak closely related languages. There are four main groups of Bantu languages in Zaire—Kongo, Teke, Lunda-Luba, and Mongo; in northern Zaire, non-Bantu languages of various sorts are spoken. All tend to be mutually unintelligible. Within any single major language group, the differences between vernaculars varies from great to small, but often even closely related dialects are also mutually unintelligible.

The four languages fostered by the Belgians and still widely in use are: Lingala in the center and north, including Kinshasa; Swahili in the east (which includes Kisangani and Lubumbashi); Kikongo in the west; and Tshiluba in the southeast. Lingala is a better medium of communication than either Kikongo or Tshiluba because it is capable of expressing more complexities accurately. Nevertheless, it lacks the capacity to be used for communication in the modern world, and it is less adequate in this regard than Swahili. Lingala, however, does have the advantage of being a real lingua franca, as the vernacular on which

it is based is extinct, and it is not, therefore, any tribal group's primary language. The Belgians used Lingala in the *Force Publique*, the predecessor to the army, which continues to use it extensively. In the process many French words have been transposed into Lingala.

Swahili developed on the east African coast and has about 14 dialects. It is part of a subculture which is most advanced on the coast and has less relevance in the interior of Africa. Although it is the most adequate of the indigenous languages, Catholic missionaries, who felt it was a vehicle of Islam, have objected to its use. The dialect used in eastern Zaire, the area once controlled by Arabs, is Kingwana. Because Swahili has adopted terms from the former colonials for artifacts and ideas of modern civilization, Swahili speakers from former English colonies cannot communicate with those from French-speaking areas on other than traditional subjects.

Kikongo and Tshiluba are simplified forms of the Kongo and Luba languages; a person knowing these base languages well can express a variety of needs in Kikongo and Tshiluba, but they are as crude as pidgin English. Between Africans, the two languages are used with considerable subtlety, but between Africans and Europeans communication in these two tongues is

usually confined to the exchange of extremely simple ideas.

French is the official language and the one most often used. English was made a second official language in late 1960. In 1970, the government stated that Lingala, Swahili, Kikongo, and Tshiluba were considered official languages along with French and English. Under Belgian colonial rule, Flemish was also an official language, but it was not widely used, and probably only a handful of Zairians speak it, partly because the Flemings were the object of African hatred.

During the colonial period, French, when taught at all, was taught as a foreign language. Often, students had to study three other languages—a native language, Flemish, and Latin. Since 1963, French has been the sole language of instruction in primary school and in secondary school. *Radio Zaire* broadcasts in French and in the four lingua francas.

C. Population (C)

Estimates pertaining to all aspects of Zaire's population should be used with considerable caution. The government conducted a national census in early 1970 in order to establish electoral districts for the first National Assembly to be formed according to the 1967 constitution. The prime objective was to determine how many Congolese citizens and aliens inhabited each locality, and the population was merely tabulated according to citizenship, sex, and two age groups—adults or children (under 18 years). The tabulation was fairly accurate in urban areas, but a large portion of the returns from rural areas appear to be rough estimates. As local administrators tended to inflate their returns, the overall total of 21,637,876 inhabitants is estimated to have been high by at least 10%. This census is the basis for estimates of total population and of growth trends. (Estimates of other demographic characteristics in this discussion are based on population surveys conducted by the Belgians between 1955 and 1958.)

The Zairian Government's official estimate of the rate of annual population growth is 4.2%, which was derived by contrasting the 1970 population totals to 1958 estimates. U.N. Secretariat officials have requested the Zairian Government to verify this seemingly high rate of increase but, as is customary, have simply presented the country's estimate in U.N. publications. This rate of 4.2% has been applied to the 1970 census totals, with the result that the official Zairian estimate of total population as of 1 January

1973 is 23,918,000. Actually, total population may be as low as 20 million.

Population according to the 1970 census included roughly 900,000 resident aliens, the bulk of whom were Africans from neighboring countries. Among some 80,000 non-African residents were about 40,000 Belgians, 15,000 Portuguese, some 5,000 other Europeans, 3,700 U.S. nationals, and roughly 15,000 Asians (Indians and Pakistanis).

According to estimates prepared by U.N. demographers on the basis of limited data for the period 1955-70, birth and death rates are 44.4 and 22.7 per 1,000 population, respectively, as compared to 17.7 and 9.4 in the United States. U.N. estimates also include an infant mortality rate of 104 deaths under age 1 per 1,000 live births, a life expectancy at birth of 37.6 years for males and 40.0 for females, and a rate of natural increase of 2.2%. Other estimates place natural increase at 2.8% or 2.9%.

The government has no family planning program. The Church of Christ in Zaire (ECZ) provides birth control information and devices to a few Zairians, but its activities are so limited as to have virtually no impact. In the traditional society large families are favored. The Roman Catholic Church, the strongest single religious group in Zaire, has traditionally opposed all methods of birth control except the rhythm method, a policy also making for large families. There is strong evidence, however, that the Zairian population is changing its attitudes and that many Roman Catholic priests are in favor of contraceptives, although they express their support discreetly. For example, inquiries during 1970 in Kivu Region, one of Zaire's most densely populated areas, indicated that almost the entire adult population (about 18,000 parents) of the most congested slum in the town of Bukavu were interested in limiting the size of their families and that in Maniema, a village about 80 miles away, 1,500 families were interested in family planning. The desire to limit family size was so strong that perhaps 20 out of every 100 children conceived were aborted despite heavy risks by the mothers; about 10 out of every 100 women having an abortion die during the process. According to the study, most of the wives of Zairian Army officers in the region were taking the birth control pill, but it was too expensive for enlisted men's wives.

Zaire is about as big as Western Europe with a population somewhat smaller than that of Belgium and the Netherlands, or to make an African comparison, it is almost three times larger than Nigeria with about a third of Nigeria's population. The average population density for Zaire as a whole is 18

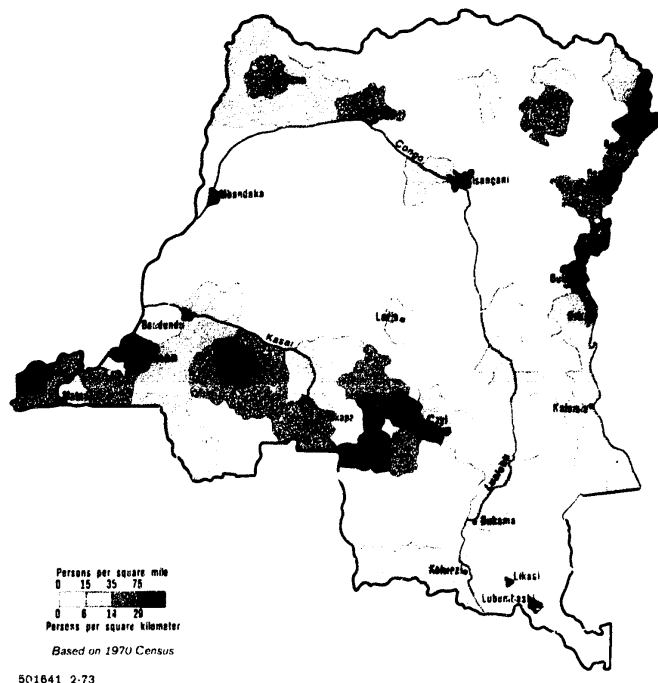


FIGURE 17. Population density (U/OU)

persons per square mile. Distribution is very uneven, however, and about 50% of the land area has less than three persons per square mile (Figure 17). Settlement is restricted by the unhealthy environments which characterize the equatorial rain forests and the seasonally dry and barren savanna areas. The fertile northeast supports a dense population, as do the two areas of greatest economic development—the lower reaches of the Congo River and southeast Shaba Region.

The most obvious population movement since World War II has been the migration of Zairians from rural to urban or periurban areas. In 1958 about a quarter of all adult males were living outside their own tribal areas. They had moved to take advantage of better economic opportunities, a trend which has continued and may have accelerated since independence. A 1967 demographic survey of Kinshasa, for example, indicated that over half of the city's population was born elsewhere.

As most of the migrants to urban areas are young men, the sex ratio of men to women is abnormally high in several rapidly growing cities. According to the 1970 census, the women to men ratio was lowest in Kinshasa—almost 141 males per 100 females.

According to the 1970 national census, 10 cities had populations over 100,000, as follows:

Kinshasa	1,323,000
Kananga	429,000
Lubumbashi	318,000
Mbuji-Mayi	256,000
Kisangani	230,000
Likasi	146,000
Bukavu	135,000
Kikwit	112,000
Matadi	110,000
Mbandaka	108,000

The national capital, Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville), has grown most rapidly during the past two decades, numbering only some 180,000 inhabitants in

1950. Such rapid growth is due not only to the influx of new residents, but also to a very high rate of natural increase, estimated to be high enough to double the resident population every 15 years. The high rate of natural increase results primarily from the better medical services available in the city. In fact, the influx of new residents into the Kinshasa urban area is less than might be expected, because the primary migratory pattern consists of movement from a remote rural area to a rural area nearer Kinshasa. The persons involved intend to move to the city as soon as they can manage to do so (which usually means finding a job), and in the meantime they live in a subsistence economy. Since independence, a separate phenomenon—squatters villages—developed in and immediately around the city. A survey indicated that their inhabitants were not migrants from rural areas but persons who came from the native areas of the city to which they were confined during Belgian rule.

Although the continual migration from rural to urban areas has been the most extensive population movement, the influx of various refugee groups from neighboring countries also has generated serious social tensions. As of January 1972, at least 480,000 political refugees were living in Zaire. Among the groups identified by agents of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were some 409,000 Angolans, 55,000 Sudanese, 24,000 Rwandans, and 1,000 Zambians. The Angolans have entered Zaire since 1961 as a result of the Angolan uprising against the Portuguese colonial government. Most of the Angolans are members of the Kongo tribe and have settled within the Kongo tribal area in Zaire. The Sudanese refugees are Nilotic peoples who fled from Sudan since 1963 as a result of the war of attrition between southern Sudanese separatists and troops from Khartoum. These are being repatriated as a result of the peace settlement between the Sudanese Government and the Anyanya rebels. The bulk of the Rwandan refugees are Tutsi who fled their country during intertribal warfare from 1959 to 1961 and settled in adjacent areas of Kivu Province. The Zambian refugees are the remnants of some 15,000 members of the Lumpa Church who entered the Congo in 1964, when Zambian authorities suppressed their sect. The bulk of this group returned to Zambia in September 1971, when authorities attempted to move them to northwestern Shaba. Since January 1972, there has been a large influx of Hutu refugees from Burundi.

The influx of foreign refugees was partially offset by an exodus of almost 100,000 Congolese as a result of fighting between troops of the central government and

Simba rebels in northern and eastern Congo during 1964-65. Most of the emigres have returned home on their own initiative or under official repatriation programs, but some have remained in surrounding countries. As of mid-1972, possibly 47,000 were still dispersed as follows:

Uganda	15,000
Burundi	5,000
Central African Republic	14,000
Sudan	7,000
Tanzania	6,000

Successive breakdowns in public order as a result of political turmoil have had a disruptive impact on the European community in Zaire. This is particularly true of Belgian residents, who have composed the largest single group of European residents. In early 1960, Belgians comprised the bulk of the roughly 115,000 Europeans residing in the former Belgian Congo. At least half of the Belgian residents were evacuated during the first year of independence, and a gradual withdrawal continued until mid-1967, when some 45,000 Belgians remained. At least 10,000 were evacuated from July to October 1967 following the mutiny of white mercenary troops in July, ensuing antiwhite behavior on the part of many Congolese, and consequent reductions in Belgian technical assistance. Since 1968 a gradual increase in Belgian residents has been exceeded by an influx of businessmen, technical assistance personnel, and missionaries from other European countries, the United States, and Canada. Hence, Belgians comprised roughly half of the non-African residents by early 1972.

Zairian authorities usually have professed a policy of hospitality toward alien political refugees who have settled peaceably on Zairian territory, and some efforts have been made to facilitate their resettlement under conditions which have enabled them to regain a livelihood. For other aliens, official hospitality has been conditional; cooperation has been extended to alien residents who have the capital or vocational capabilities to provide essential services which Zairians are not qualified to provide. Furthermore, since 1966 President Mobutu has at least ostensibly encouraged the repatriation of Zairian emigres who renounce whatever subversive affiliations led them to emigrate. In fact, however, the declared policies have seldom been implemented because the Zaire Government lacks the administrative capabilities for coping with large numbers of refugees or other aliens. Therefore, actual treatment of aliens has varied from group to group, depending on circumstances or Mobutu's view of Zairian relations with their countries of origin.

The influx of Angolans, who comprise almost four-fifths of all alien refugees in Zaire, has been allowed to run its course with only minimal efforts on the part of Zairian authorities to channel the flow of immigrants or to rehabilitate them. This policy of noninterference is in line with Zaire's foreign policy which condemns Portuguese colonialism and requires at least minimal hospitality for Angolans fleeing from Portuguese control. Also, the Kongo tribal affiliations of most of the Angolan refugees makes it easier for them to be absorbed into the Kongo areas which are already fairly densely populated. The bulk of Angolan refugees have avoided starvation by resuming their traditional subsistence agriculture on their own initiative. The official doctrine that they are merely sojourning in Zaire until Angola becomes independent provides a convenient rationalization for not attempting further rehabilitation. In fact, whatever medical and education services Angolans have received in Zaire have come from Christian mission stations.

By contrast, President Mobutu's declared policy of solidarity with independent Africa states has resulted in some efforts to resettle and rehabilitate the refugees from Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zambia. In particular, Zairian authorities have sought to comply with an OAU agreement that political refugees from member states be resettled at least 150 kilometers from the international boundary. In 1970, officials, aided by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), began to resettle Sudanese refugees in permanent communities well removed from the border. By early 1972, however, only 12,000 of some 55,000 Sudanese refugees in Zaire had been resettled under the program in the new areas; the majority were still leading a marginal existence in the frontier zone.

Some 24,000 Rwandan refugees in eastern Kivu Region have received comparable treatment. Some have been systematically resettled north of Lac Kivu, well away from the Rwandan border, but many have been left to fend for themselves in the environs of Bukavu and Goma, to which they had fled in the years 1959-61. By contrast with the Sudanese refugees, however, the Rwandans are located in a densely populated area and tend to dominate the more backward indigenous population. Zairian authorities, again responding to local circumstances beyond their control, have tended to accept Rwandans as permanent settlers. In fact, President Mobutu has decreed that they be treated as citizens in anticipation of their fulfilling the 15-year residence requirement for legal citizenship.

The experience of some 15,000 Zambian members of the Lumpa Church who fled to the Congo in 1964

highlights the government's heavy hand in dealing with the problems posed by such large groups of refugees. This group settled spontaneously in southeastern Shaba near the Zambian border. They soon regained self-sufficiency through farming vacant land, and they lived peaceably with the local inhabitants, to whom they were ethnically related. The authorities, however, saw them as potential troublemakers and threatened to scatter them throughout the Congo if they refused repatriation. In late 1968 the government belatedly concurred in a UNHCR project for moving the Lumpas to northwestern Katanga (Shaba) and helping them to establish self-sufficient communities. Not until July 1971 was the first group of 700 Lumpas moved to the resettlement area, where they found potentially good farmland but inadequate facilities. The bulk of the Lumpas remaining in southeastern Katanga were still opposed to the move. In September, when police tried to herd some of them onto a train, most of the group fled back to Zambia.

Administrative inadequacies have limited the number of Zairian emigres who have returned from neighboring countries and been given rehabilitation. President Mobutu's extensive amnesty program began with a promise in early December 1970 that all former rebels who returned home by 31 January 1971 would be pardoned, regardless of their past offenses. A government spokesman announced in February 1971 that over 12,000 persons responded, but it is doubtful that more than a few hundred emigres actually returned to their home villages during this period and regained their former livelihoods. According to reliable observers, some 7,000 emigres returned from Burundi to reception centers in Kivu Region, but inadequate relief provisions resulted in such severe hardships that most of the emigres returned to Burundi. Before this amnesty declaration, however, some 700 Zairian emigres to Sudan had been returned to Haut-Zaire Region under an official repatriation program which appeared to be operating fairly effectively, although on a smaller scale than had been planned.

Official treatment of the alien residents who are not classified as political refugees, roughly 400,000 in 1970, has varied widely since 1960, from genuine efforts to protect alien residents, to antiregion propaganda which has incited the populace to abuse aliens, to directives which call for expulsion of certain categories of undesirable aliens. The more extreme variations in treatment of aliens, however, have reflected administrative inadequacies, rather than marked shifts in declared national policy. A very provocative line of antiregion propaganda was

occurred by the mutiny of white mercenary officers in July 1967, and ensuing incidents of brutality towards European residents on the part of Congolese troops reflected the inability of military commanders to restrain excesses. A comparable gap between policy and enforcement capabilities has characterized official efforts to expel undesirable aliens. In August 1969 the Political Bureau of the ruling party urged that except for recognized political refugees all aliens who did not have essential vocational qualifications or business assets amounting to 50,000 zaires (US\$100,000) should be expelled. The resulting campaign to identify and round up unqualified foreign residents provided unlimited opportunities for local administrators and police to intimidate and shake down aliens. The net result after 4 months, however, was expulsion of only 2,700 aliens from Kinshasa and smaller numbers from other cities. The campaign lapsed without achieving registration of most aliens, but was resumed in September 1971, when diamond smugglers were named as the prime targets. Six weeks later the round of registrations, arrests, and expulsions was declared to be completed, but only 7,000 aliens were actually expelled. As in 1969, those who were ejected were predominantly small west African traders who lacked the ready cash to buy exemptions from local officials.

D. The role of labor (U/OU)

Most Zairians have limited opportunities for paid employment. Because economic recovery from the turmoil of the early 1960's has been uneven, the total number of regularly employed wage earners in mid-1972 was no higher than in 1959, although the population probably increased by roughly a third during this period. The number of wage earners has indeed increased substantially since 1960 in Kinshasa, in the Shaban mining towns, and in a few other urban areas. Nevertheless, the number of jobseekers has far exceeded the job opportunities in urban areas. According to 1969 estimates, regularly employed wage earners comprised only 12% of the total labor force, scarcely more than the roughly 10% of the total labor force who had migrated to urban areas but failed to find regular employment. Only the very small minority of Zairians who have acquired modern industrial skills find enough job opportunities to have some choice of employers or geographic location.

One of the factors which impels rural youths to migrate to urban areas despite their lack of salable skills is the chronic underemployment among the bulk of the rural populace. Only a tiny minority of rural dwellers are employed as wage earners on modern

plantations; most are traditional subsistence farmers. Before independence a substantial minority of the peasants who were engaged in subsistence agriculture on tribal lands also spent part of their time cultivating cash crops. Opportunities for marketing cash crops, however, have declined since 1960 throughout most rural areas as a result of breakdowns in local road maintenance and other government services.

The underemployment pattern prevailing in areas which have reverted to subsistence agriculture is illustrated by a recent survey of one small tribal group. Adult males, on the average, were spending only a small portion of their potential worktime on productive tasks. Approximately 15% of their annual total working days was spent in food-producing activities, which included farming, herding, hunting, fishing, and gathering, and about 5% in manufacturing simple tools, utensils, furniture, and houses.

The fact that 80% of the potential worktime of males was not used productively was in part due to the tradition, common to most Zairian tribes, that adult males participate in production of subsistence crops only to the extent of clearing land, while females and children have the responsibility of cultivating, harvesting, and processing these crops. Furthermore, the administrative services of the national government, however limited, have at least partially replaced the need for males to manage the affairs of their kinship group. For example, the resolution of disputes through time-consuming traditional litigation proceedings has been supplanted by appeals to a local administrative official. A concurrent lessening of religious belief has resulted in a reduction in time spent in ritual carvings and in preparation for and participation in religious ceremonies.

The paucity of work opportunities may well be the most pervasive cause of discontent among the Zairian populace. The intensity of job hunger varies greatly among diverse social groups, from peasants in outlying areas who are barely aware of amenities that cash can buy in remote cities to the many thousands of unemployed in or around Kinshasa who covet a steady job above all else. Wherever it is felt, however, job hunger tends to focus popular attention on the inadequacies of the central government or its local agencies. In rural areas, peasants who want to grow cash crops grumble about impassable roads and the lack of payments to the road crews since independence. In urban areas, the unemployed look primarily to the government for jobs. National independence brought political pressures on government leaders to provide jobs for the unemployed, especially for those who lacked the skills required by private industry.

Such pressures were intensified by the sharp decline in private enterprise resulting from insecure conditions in the early 1960's. Consequently, the ranks of government employees increased by roughly 75% from 1960 to 1970. The net result is that almost as many Zairians are now employed in government agencies as in the private sector. The incompetence of many government employees seriously impedes essential operations, but severe pruning would sharply intensify latent social and political tensions.

Because of chronic job scarcity, the distribution of wage and salary earning positions among ethnic groups has been one of the focal points for serious tension since independence. For example, under the colonial regime the Luba had a disproportionate share of white-collar positions in government and business offices in Kanunga. This dominance was so resented by the more numerous Lulua that the Luba were forced to relocate to the east after independence. These ethnic rivalries eventually resulted in the division of Kasai into two regions, Kasai-Occidental and Kasai-Oriental, dominated respectively by the Lulua and Luba tribes. The Luba were also resented by the Lunda of Shaba Region for their preponderance in wage and salary earning positions there and were forced to flee this province in the early 1960's, although some have returned to Shaba and dominate the city of Lubumbashi.

The unsatisfied desire for employment or advancement also intensifies popular aversions toward foreign residents, particularly the Belgians and other Europeans, who hold most of the managerial and technical positions in private enterprise and the state-owned corporations. In response to such concern, an official policy was announced in January 1968 that Congolese have priority over foreigners for all jobs requiring a labor contract, provided an applicant is qualified to perform a particular job. Furthermore, President Mobutu issued an order in August 1970 excluding foreigners from employment within government ministries. The effects of this order have not been as sweeping as official announcements implied, since it does not apply to foreigners assigned to ministries under bilateral technical assistance programs, and the state-owned corporations which employ a large portion of the foreign managerial and technical personnel have been temporarily exempted.

President Mobutu apparently recognizes that most high-level foreign employees can be replaced only gradually, as long-term programs for training Zairians are implemented. The major concentration of European technicians is in the Shaban copper industry, and in fact they are being gradually replaced

through an effective training program conducted by the Belgian company which holds a management contract with the Zairian state-owned mining corporation. Nevertheless, President Mobutu or his aides have occasionally resorted to propaganda ploys which stimulate popular jealousy of foreign jobholders and raise unrealistic expectations that they are to be replaced soon. The actual targets of highly publicized crackdowns on foreign residents in 1969 and again in 1971 turned out to be mostly African aliens engaged in petty trade. Such campaigns, however, at least temporarily demoralize many Europeans who are performing functions that are essential for the development of the Zairian economy.

Although regularly employed wage earners constitute a fortunate minority of the Zairian population, inadequate compensation has been a chronic demoralizing factor within this group. All have been more or less deprived by the trend since independence for wages to lag behind the rising cost of living in urban areas. This trend was temporarily reversed during 1971 by increases in the legal minimum wage accruing to 30%, but prospects for holding the line appeared poor in early 1972. The bulk of low-level wage earners who are hit hardest by inflation also feel aggrieved by the contrast between their standard of living and that of high-level government officials who flaunt luxuries derived from legal perquisites or transparently prevalent graft. Furthermore, many government employees have repeatedly suffered privations due to prolonged arrears in pay as a result of malfeasance or chronic administrative snarls. Pay arrears have been the most common single cause of wildcat strikes among schoolteachers and other government employees. President Mobutu is aware of this corruption and has been trying to crack down on the most obvious culprits.

Labor unions for Zairian workers developed later and were less important than those in most of the British or French colonies. Because there were no unions, worker dissatisfaction tended to erupt spontaneously in riots or other violent outbreaks. Many labor organizations were formed in the late 1940's, including the forerunners of today's unions, but all were under strict government control. Not only did the colonial government regulate their size and organization but, more significantly, insisted that any action a union wished to take had to be channeled through an intricate system of work councils and workers committees, in which Europeans held all top positions. The Africans did not understand how the complex system worked, and spokesmen for the

African workers were often reluctant to challenge the government for fear they would be punished. As a result, few workers were interested in unions or understood what a labor movement was all about. In addition, and perhaps because of its lack of economic muscle, the labor movement never became a major channel of nationalism as it did in other African countries.

In 1967, President Mobutu successfully pressured the three existing labor federations to form a single organization, designed to support his political party, the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR). This unitary labor organization immediately supplanted the former federations and then gradually absorbed all the former trade unions. Meanwhile, labor leaders became increasingly oriented toward the MPR, which served to link them at least indirectly to the government. Consequently, most ordinary workmen have come to rely on the government rather than labor union action to meet their basic needs, and their personal participation in local union activities has tended to decline.

The unitary organization formed in 1967 was the National Union of Congolese Workers of Congo (UNTC, now UNTZA). Its declared purpose is to promote the welfare of all workers, regardless of whether they are regular wage earners, casual urban workers, or peasants working on family farms. Its organizational structure reflects this all-inclusive purpose. The basic local units are supposed to include all employees in a particular small business or in a local branch of a large company or government agency. Linking these local units with the national headquarters are two parallel structures, each having local, regional, and provincial echelons. In the first structural category are the professional committees, each of which comprises a particular industry or government ministry. In fact, the professional committees, which constitute a pyramidal structure for each industry, are the vestiges of former trade unions. The second structural category comprises the interprofessional committees, which conduct particular aspects of union affairs, such as finances or cadre training.

At the national level, the UNTZA executive board comprises a secretary for each of the industrial or functional chains of command, a secretary general, and several assistant secretaries general. The executive board in effect controls the UNTZA, in accordance with guidance from ranking MPR officials, although the nominally supreme organ of the UNTZA is a national congress convened every 5 years. Nationwide elections of some 10,000 shop stewards in 1968 and

again in 1971 have maintained a vestige of the rank and file influence which prevailed in some of the former trade unions, although most of the present shop stewards were virtually nominated by higher echelons.

Although the UNTZA claims to represent at least 1.3 million wage earners, only a small minority actually paid dues before a dues check off system—deducting union dues from workers' salaries—was instituted for employees of private companies in 1968 and for government employees in 1970. By late 1971 roughly 900,000 workers reportedly were paying dues regularly through the checkoff system. Many, however, resisted dues payments as long as possible while the checkoff system was being gradually enforced. Their opposition to compulsory payments apparently reflected their awareness that UNTZA received substantial government subsidies until 1970 and their belief that union officials were expending funds in ways that did not actually benefit ordinary workmen. Independent observers tend to concur in this belief. In fact, substantial thefts of union funds at national headquarters were publicized in 1969 and again in 1971.

The UNTZA has made only limited progress toward its declared objectives of supplementing the government's social services for all workers as well as sponsoring producer and consumer cooperatives. In December 1969 the UNTZA inaugurated the Workers and Peasants Solidarity Fund (CASOP), which aims to provide low-cost health insurance and other welfare services to casual workers, farmers, and others who are not covered by the government-operated social insurance system. As of late 1971, however, CASOP was operating health clinics and other services in only three major cities, and only a few producer cooperatives had been started. The UNTZA conducted its first seminar for rural community leaders in September 1971 with support from the African-American Labor Center (AALC).

The UNTZA is not formally affiliated with any international labor organization except the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC). The three Congolese labor federations which joined to form the UNTZA in 1967 had already been affiliated with the ATUC. The UNTZA has maintained the affiliation while its leaders have expressed hopes that the ATUC, a U.S.-supported and -influenced group, could eventually merge with its Soviet-supported rival, the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF). Despite a declared policy of independence from all non-African labor organizations, UNTZA does cooperate with the AALC, with Histadrut, the Israeli labor organization, and with Swiss, West German, and

other European labor groups, including those with which its three predecessor unions were affiliated. For the most part it accepts training and technical assistance from them but steers clear of receiving direct subsidies. The major amount of assistance comes from the AALC, which has managed to build a good relationship, enabling it to begin providing the leadership training Zairian labor so badly needs. The European organizations, on the other hand, have become discouraged by the amount of corruption in the Zairian unions and in consequence have chosen to play only a minor assistance role.

The General Confederation of Congolese Workers (CGTC), the only Communist-oriented union, was outlawed in 1966 and its leadership imprisoned. At its height, the union probably had a membership of one or two dozen militants, although a membership of 300 was sometimes claimed. Some of the leaders have been released from jail, and they occasionally distribute anti-Mobutu tracts in Kinshasa, but they have had little impact and are only a minor nuisance to the government.

The Federation of Businesses of Zaire (FEZ), which is affiliated with Belgian industry, is the most important management organization. In 1969 it had 270 affiliates covering about 95% of all private businesses.

Relations among management, labor, and government are prescribed in a comprehensive labor code, issued by presidential decree in August 1967. The labor code calls for a National Labor Council, comprising seven representatives each for government, management, and labor, which proposes revisions in the code and makes other recommendations on labor problems. Its recommendations, however, are not binding, and President Mobutu has been the ultimate arbiter of important issues between labor and management.

The labor code covers working conditions in the broadest sense, including maximum working hours, annual leave, and such fringe benefits as family and housing allowances. It also stipulates the procedures for collective bargaining and arbitration of disputes between workers and employers. Strikes are illegal unless the protracted arbitration procedures are exhausted. Subsequent regulations in effect make the UNTZA the only permissible bargaining agent for all wage earners and prohibit workers from going on strike without authorization of the UNTZA's secretary general.

The FEZ and the UNTZA signed their first collective bargaining agreement in March 1968. Among other things, it provided a scale for the dues

checkoff system. Dues ranged from the equivalent of \$.20 to \$.80 a month for salaries ranging from less than \$12 to over \$100 a month. Unfortunately, union representatives rarely know anything about the specific workers or factories they represent, a condition which has made management reluctant to negotiate specific agreements with individual unions as was envisaged under the March 1968 collective bargaining agreement. However, in 1969 the first such national agreement (covering banks) was signed, and in February 1970, a second agreement (covering plantation and forestry workers) was signed. In July 1970 three agreements—covering mineworkers, railroad workers, and tobacco workers—were signed. These and subsequent agreements have extended increasingly precise rules for each kind of work to most employees of private companies and of the state-owned corporations.

Relations between private industry and labor have been fairly stable since 1967 with a minimum of strikes. Since private companies usually have maintained wage scales well above the legal minimum, the prime issue has been the aspiration of Zairians for upgrading to managerial and technical positions held by Europeans. This issue has seldom become disruptive, as most of the larger companies have initiated their own programs for training and upgrading Zairians. Also, government authorities usually have exercised restraint in enforcing legal quotas and other restrictions on employment of foreigners. The upgrading issue, however, remains potentially stressful, because few Zairians yet have the educational credentials or technical training for the more desirable positions.

By contrast with employees in the private sector, Zairian schoolteachers and other employees of government agencies have been prone to go out on sporadic local strikes in defiance of union discipline and legal prohibitions. Most wildcat strikes have been caused by prolonged lapses in pay or fringe benefits as a result of administrative breakdowns. Also, the hand-in-glove relationship between higher union and party officials has provoked cynical attitudes among ordinary workers regarding the efforts of union officials to redress their grievances.

E. Living conditions and social problems (U/OU)

As a result of Belgian efforts, health and social services and the standard of living at the time of independence in 1960 were probably superior to those anywhere else in tropical Africa. Independence,

however, was followed by an almost immediate breakdown in order, with tribal warfare and rebellion throughout much of the country, rising unemployment in the cities, and occasional attacks on whites. As chaos and confusion spread, the Belgians who performed the social and medical services fled. Most social and health services came to an abrupt halt just when they were most needed because of the difficult problems created by the disorders. Some services have been reinstated, and the situation has improved since the early 1960's, but it will be many years before Zaire recovers the standards it knew prior to independence.

Independence brought not only a collapse in most welfare services, but a sharp decline in the typical wage earner's purchasing power as a result of the increases in the cost of consumer goods. Successive government leaders sought to offset rising prices with statutory wage increases, but legal minimum wage scales lagged far behind prices until mid-1968, when the typical urban wage earner's purchasing power was roughly half of the preindependence norm. Since 1968 the Mobutu government has made substantial progress toward closing the gap between prices and wages. In fact, three statutory wage increases during 1970-71 accrued to 50% for most regular wage earners, while inflationary pressures were checked sufficiently to yield a slight gain in actual purchasing power over the 1964 level. Nevertheless, by December 1971 the real value of legal minimum wages averaged only 69% of the preindependence norm.

Most Zairians have suffered a net deterioration in their material welfare since independence. Peasants remaining on their tribal lands usually have fared better than a large portion of the urban dwellers. Even the more advanced farmers, who before 1960 had become accustomed to raising cash crops and buying some amenities with their profits, have tended to revert to traditional subsistence agriculture without undergoing an intense sense of deprivation, since they still have basic necessities according to traditional standards. On the other hand, few of those who have migrated to urban areas have found regular employment, and an even smaller number have found adequate housing.

Extreme variations in urban living conditions reflect the postindependence breakdown in orderly urban growth. During the Belgian era, rural-urban migration was limited by the requirement that a house with water and electricity be available before a family could move to a town, a policy which entailed considerable waiting but prevented the growth of slums. At independence, however, housing restrictions were abolished, and urbanization has since occurred

haphazardly. People have freely crowded into the cities, or from one part of the city to another, and created problem environments. The dismaying conditions reported in Bukavu in 1967 are probably typical for most urban areas. The city was surrounded by acres of rat-infested hovels and was overrun with thieves, beggars, and pickpockets. People working for the government demanded bribes before they would perform the duties for which they were drawing salaries, and there was a high incidence of housebreaking, even though windows in most buildings were barred.

During the 1950's the Belgian colonial administration, Christian missions, and various Belgian-sponsored charities made such substantial contributions to social welfare that Congolese were far ahead of other Africans in terms of primary education, housing, medical care, and workers benefits. Since independence, however, the government has had to concentrate so much effort on maintaining public order that administrative personnel have usually neglected welfare programs. The practical result is that the comprehensive system set up by the Belgians for the most part has ceased to exist, although much of the legislation setting up these programs remains in existence. Although the United Nations arranged for technicians to replace many of the Belgians who fled when order broke down, these persons usually were on contract, and many stayed only 2 years. Insofar as government services are concerned, rural areas have been virtually ignored since independence. A 1968 visitor to a remote rural area of Shaba characterized it as "forsaken"; the area seemed untouched by education and the modern world, there was no government presence, and the people existed entirely on an easily acquired subsistence diet.

Social insurance programs for the small minority of Zairians who are regularly employed are administered by the National Institute of Social Security (INSS), a part of the Department of for Social Affairs. These programs include workmen's compensation and old-age, survivor, and disability insurance. In January 1970, retirement benefits were increased 45%, survivor benefits were increased 30%, and disability pensions were increased 20%. The INSS is governed by a 10-member administrative council consisting of four government representatives, three employer representatives, and three employee representatives. In early 1966, about half a million workers were registered with the INSS, but it was not clear how many actually were covered by benefits. A major problem is that persons outside Kinshasa almost never

receive the benefits to which they are entitled because provincial officials pocket the payments.

In December 1969 the national labor union, the UNTZA, inaugurated the Workers and Peasants Solidarity Fund (CASOP). The fund's purpose is to provide benefits in addition to those provided by the INSS in times of particular need, such as illness or death in the family. Fund benefits are intended for all workers and not just those who are union members. Financing has come from several sources but chiefly from the mutual assistance associations sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church which had provided similar services until 1969, when the UNTC took over. By December 1971 CASOP centers were operating in only four cities—Kinshasa, Mbuji-Mayi, Lubumbashi, and Kisangani. The Kinshasa center consisted of a dispensary with two ambulances, two hearses, facilities for funeral services, and a casket workshop. The center is also to include a sewing center, a baby layette service, and a mobile health clinic to serve nearby rural areas.

Although there are no statistics on the incidence of crime, it seems to occur primarily in the cities rather than in rural areas. Armed robbery, banditry, and physical assault are commonplace. Robberies and assaults were particularly high in Lubumbashi in the winter of 1969. It was determined that police, army, and the highest judicial officials in that city were deeply involved in protecting the criminals and that much of the crime problem resulted from the dire economic situation. Prostitution is a problem, but little is known about its dimensions and effects. The taking of drugs such as marijuana, called *chanvre* in Zaire, is a centuries-old custom in much of Africa and is not a serious problem. *Chanvre* grows in the forest on 7-foot stalks, and apparently a shoebox full may be bought in Kinshasa for \$1. About the only people who seem alarmed about drug use are the young. They assert their independence from their parents by not taking drugs, which to them are hallmarks of the ignorant old ways. The use of alcohol, on the other hand, is a growing problem among the young and the old and appears to be a major contributing factor to a high automobile accident rate and to a high rate of absenteeism.

F. Health (U/OU)

As public health statistics have not been systematically collected since 1959, the full dimensions of present health problems are unknown. It is apparent, however, that many diseases and also malnutrition are prevalent among the indigenous

population. The most serious health hazards, especially for foreigners who travel outside the major cities, are the communicable diseases caused by unsanitary conditions. Organic and degenerative diseases are also important elements of a generally poor public health situation.

The climate of Zaire varies markedly. The low-lying plains of the central Congo Basin are hot, humid, and rainy most of the year. Consequently the basin, which is covered by dense rain forest, is an unhealthy area and is only sparsely populated. The environment is much healthier in the higher elevations of northern, eastern, and southern Zaire, and some sectors of these higher, cooler regions are densely populated. Foreigners accustomed to temperate climates find the conditions in the central basin enervating.

Many species of indigenous wildlife as well as the common livestock are health hazards for humans in rural areas. There are various poisonous snakes, including one of the world's deadliest, the black mamba, and wild animals such as crocodiles, hyenas, jackals and others are sometimes a threat to man. A person who falls ill or injures himself while alone in certain parts of Zaire is in considerable danger of being killed and eaten by an animal.

Livestock are subject to numerous diseases, including trypanosomiasis, East Coast fever, babesiosis, rinderpest, rabies, and anthrax. Indigenous cattle, however, have developed a strong resistance to many of the diseases. Some animal diseases are transmissible to humans; in fact, the incidence of rabies is especially high in Kinshasa and other urban areas. Animals also transmit diseases which affect only humans—rodents for example carry bubonic plague.

The lack of clean water and the almost total absence of sanitation contribute significantly to the spread of disease. Even a healthy person cannot remain free of sickness for long unless he takes extraordinary precautions. Except in some urban areas, facilities for food storage and distribution are inadequate. Most food is sold in open markets, where it is exposed to dust, insects, rodents, and unsanitary handling (Figure 18). There is legislation which sets standards for the inspection of food, but Zaire lacks the resources to enforce the rules. Thus, a government inspection stamp may be seen on meat that has not been inspected and is hanging in the dirtiest of open markets. There is an adequate supply of water throughout most of Zaire, and drought is almost never a problem, but systems for the distribution of water exist only in the larger cities, where piped water is not usually potable, since urban treatment facilities are inadequate. In 1962 about half of the houses in urban



FIGURE 18. Vendors selling fresh and smoked fish in Kinshasa market (U/OU)

areas had running water, but only a few had modern plumbing facilities. In rural areas women obtain water from streams or rivers. Sewage disposal is totally lacking in rural areas and inadequate in urban areas. Garbage collection is sporadic even in the cities and nonexistent in rural areas.

Communicable diseases are the most serious health hazards. Organic and degenerative diseases no doubt add to health problems, but no statistics are available on their relative importance. The principal communicable diseases include amebiasis, shigellosis, malaria, tuberculosis, schistosomiasis, infectious hepatitis, helminthiasis, leprosy, the childhood diseases, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, smallpox, trypanosomiasis, and respiratory infections. The government reported 2,064 cases of smallpox in December 1969 alone. At that time incidence was heaviest in Shaba and Bandundu Regions. Malaria is endemic and occasionally epidemic; nearly all African children in the lowlands acquire the infection before they are 10 years old. Malaria-control campaigns, extensive prior to 1960, have become sporadic. This situation allowed the incidence of malaria to surpass that of 1958, when there were about 945,000 cases, with over 2,300 deaths. Tuberculosis, once found primarily in cities, has penetrated extensively into

rural areas. In Shaba Region and the two Kasai regions, schistosomiasis, an infection acquired by drinking or bathing in water contaminated by flukes of the genus schistosoma, the host being snails, is endemic. In 1972 about 400,000 Zairians were affected by leprosy; permanent cures are rare largely because people do not understand that they must continue treatment after the lesions disappear. There are frequent epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and mumps, which in Zaire often result in death. There has been an alarming rise in the incidence of trypanosomiasis, and there is also a high incidence of venereal disease. There is bubonic plague in the north of Kivu Region. Onchocerciasis is widespread in the regions of Kasai-Occidental and Kasai-Oriental, and yellow fever has been found in Haut-Zaire north of Kisangani.

The average Zairian diet, although sufficient in calories, lacks the vitamins, minerals, and proteins necessary for good health. Malnutrition thus characterizes the health of more than 90% of the population, those whose diet consists of cassava and plantains, supplemented in some areas by corn, peanuts, rice, and palm oil. Protein deficiencies have particularly serious effects on children between the ages of 1 and 4; many die and others are retarded for life because of the lack of protein. In 1972 there appeared to be none of the outright starvation once widespread in the many areas disrupted by tribal warfare and rebellion and more recently appearing in Haut-Zaire and Kivu Regions as a result of the 1964 rebellion. There remain, however, people who while not starving are hungry. Civil disorders, inadequate distribution systems, poor storage facilities, and insufficient production cause occasional food shortages in the cities.

Despite the efforts of the World Health Organization, other international organizations, and foreign governments, the administration of health programs is totally inadequate. Most of the budget of the Department of Public Health goes for salaries, and many of its personnel are incompetent.

Medical care standards are below those of neighboring countries, having deteriorated sharply since independence, when facilities were among the most extensive on the continent. Hospitals and dispensaries are seriously understaffed—some have no staff at all—and lack drugs in the quantities and varieties needed (Figure 19). As an indication, in 1956 there were 2,173 medical care facilities (including 339 hospitals, 1,642 dispensaries, and 192 special units including leprosariums and tuberculosis sanitariums) with some 65,000 beds. In 1970, despite a large



FIGURE 19. Patients at health center in Ndjili near Kinshasa (C.)

increase in population, there were only 305 hospitals with a reported 48,900 beds. The statistics are not really comparable, however, because in 1968 many facilities operated only partially and were dirty and rundown, while in 1956 they were fully functioning entities.

In 1957 there was a doctor for every 20,000 persons, while in 1972 there was one for about every 30,000 persons, a ratio far below the goal of one doctor per 10,000 persons set by the United Nations for developing countries. In absolute numbers Zaire had a total of about 780 physicians in early 1972, of whom only 300 were Zairian nationals. Because medical facilities and physicians are concentrated in the larger urban areas, the ratio of physicians to local population in rural areas is much lower than the national average. In 1972 the ratio of physicians to persons was estimated to be about 1 to 5,000 in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi but only 1 to 50,000 in rural areas. As a practical matter, therefore, reliable medical facilities are limited to a few government-operated hospitals in the major cities and the small rural hospitals or clinics that are operated by Christian missions. The latter are so unevenly dispersed across the interior that they are accessible to only a small portion of the rural population (Figure 20). Of Kinshasa's 203 doctors, 122 worked in hospitals, 61 in Lovanium University clinics, and 20 for the central government.

The only full-length training course for physicians is provided by the medical school at the Kinshasa branch of Zaire National University (the former Lovanium University). In early 1972 some 1,300 medical students were enrolled in its 6-year course leading to a doctorate in medicine. This school has expanded rapidly since 1970; it had graduated only 65

physicians between 1963 and 1970. As of early 1972, well over half of the roughly 300 physicians of Zairian nationality who were practicing in Zaire had received their medical education abroad.

Zairian physicians are as reluctant as the foreign doctors to serve in rural areas. The government conscripted all Zairian doctors in March 1968 in an attempt to improve medical care in rural areas, but this has not worked well because the government has not been able to service rural medical facilities. Doctors in rural areas are rarely paid on time and therefore resort to selling their drugs to make ends meet; often even rudimentary housing for their families is nonexistent. The conscripted doctors are intensely and understandably discontented, and many have left their posts and returned to Kinshasa, while others simply never arrived at their posts. Discontent among Zairian physicians in government service apparently was among the motivations for the imposition in 1971 of a maximum fee schedule for physicians in private practice. This regulation has caused so many foreign doctors to leave Zaire that European residents face an acute shortage of private practitioners.

Training facilities for nurses and medical technicians are very limited. Zaire National University conducts only one nursing school and one school of pharmacology, both situated at Kinshasa. As of early 1972, Christian missions were conducting six 4-year training courses for nurses and twenty-three 2-year courses for practical nurses. The total output of trained nurses was still far below nationwide needs, and a



FIGURE 20. Dispensary at a mission hospital in Katantfi (C)

large portion of the practical nurses and midwives who were on the scene prior to independence are still practicing.

The government's failure to provide medical care for the bulk of the population has provoked public expressions of dissatisfaction, and President Mobutu has tended to respond with token programs designed to have a visible impact on particular areas. For instance, pressures from a war veterans association in Bas-Zaïre evoked a directive in January 1970 that unemployed veterans in that province were to receive free medical care from local public health units. In the absence of adequate facilities, this was little more than a gesture, but in 1970 Mobutu also sponsored a pilot project which has brought genuine results. A special fund was established for recruitment of foreign physicians and nurses to serve in a Kinshasa general hospital and also aboard a hospital ship which is to tour the principal rivers. In late 1970 the task force at the hospital, although still short of projected strength, opened an intensive care unit for surgical patients and brought a marked improvement in overall cleanliness. The hospital ship began to cruise in early 1971. Its staff performed surgery and also conducted such preventive services as inoculations and training of village leaders in basic sanitation. The Kinshasa hospital has been renamed as a memorial to Mobutu's recently deceased mother, and the hospital ship bears his wife's name.

G. Religion (U/OU)

The tribes of Zaïre are deeply religious, and some idea of the strength and complexity of their varied beliefs can be seen in the rich art which they fashioned. For more than a century these religious convictions have been challenged by the modern Western world and its religions as well as by Islamic influences from Africa's east coast. Although many Zaïrians have adopted Christianity for the practical benefits it has conferred—schooling, a mark of elite status, medical services—others are sincere believers. Indeed, some have formed their own Christian churches because they have felt that the accepted churches have failed to interpret the principles of Christianity correctly. Also, syncretic churches have been formed that incorporate Christian and traditional beliefs and practices. A few conservative tribes, such as the Kuba, maintain their traditional beliefs with continuing vigor.

The most recent estimates (1966) on the religious preferences of the population indicate that of some 15.5 million people, 8 million are Christian (6 million

Roman Catholic and 2 million Protestant) and 7 million retain their traditional tribal beliefs. The remainder includes 180,000 adherents of syncretic Christian sects, 150,000 Muslims, 3,000 Greek Orthodox Christians, and 1,200 Jews. Such estimates probably fall short of the full number of syncretist; some sources indicate that there are over 3 million. Both Christians and traditional believers are fairly evenly dispersed throughout the country, that is, there is no single large tribe or area which is overwhelmingly Christian and thus religiously distinct from other tribes or areas. Christians do tend, however, to be concentrated in the cities and small towns, while the people who live in rural areas tend to continue in their traditional beliefs. Furthermore, as a result of an agreement among various missionary groups, the adherents of the many Protestant denominations are concentrated in particular areas. The largest concentrations of Muslims are in eastern Zaïre, particularly in Kisangani and other towns.

There are over 200 indigenous systems of religious belief in Zaïre, many with only several thousand adherents. The numerous systems developed because each African tribe had its own beliefs which were an integral part of its social system. As is the case with the various Christian denominations, the African beliefs have many basic features in common, usually differing only in superficial aspects. In all African systems, religion is not relegated to an occasional ceremony but permeates a person's entire existence from birth to death.

In tribal religions, the system of thought usually includes the idea that all persons, living or dead, possess a vital force which manifests itself in daily life. Many of the rituals are followed in order to make this force available to a particular person or group or, conversely, to prevent an undesirable force from making itself felt. Not only persons but also objects are considered to be the repository of one or more spirits, and an alert observer may see evidence of offerings which have been left for the spirits at a particular stream, rock, or tree. Since the belief that natural phenomena possess souls or spirits is usually called animism, African beliefs are often referred to simply as animistic. Most of the traditional rituals fulfill a vital and understandable function for the members of the religion. The worship of ancestors, for example, serves to remind the living of their past and hence their continuity as a people, thus performing something of the same function that the formal study of history performs for other peoples. A reminder of their past may also help a tribe survive a particularly difficult or troubling time, such as a period of famine or warfare.

In most of the traditional religions, there is, in addition to the belief in a multitude of spirits and ancestors, a belief in one supreme being, the creator of the universe, but he is given different names by different groups. In most cases he is too remote to be approached directly. Some belief systems developed an elaborate set of lesser divinities as well.

Human beings are believed to possess a spirit which leaves the body after death and goes, after a suitable lapse of time, to a spirit world where all the spirits have gathered. Thus, the African belief systems have a form of heaven, but they lack a hell. The spirits of departed ancestors in African systems possess the power to interfere in the lives of their progeny. Because they have this power, it is important that their good will is maintained, an important factor in the growth of ancestor worship. The emphasis on the ancestor also serves the purpose of strengthening the position of the elders vis-a-vis the younger members of the tribe.

In African religious systems, the problem of good and evil is usually separated from the belief in a divine spirit and in ancestors. Thus, no one ever falls from divine grace or is disowned by his ancestors. Instead, evil comes from persons with evil intentions and good from persons with good intentions. The Africans believe that sorcerers make people bad, and traditional practitioners use counter magic to make people good, or, if not that, to render the evil action ineffective or the recipient of an evil action immune to it (Figures 21 and 22). In this manner there arose the use of charms, fetishes, and ritual-type actions that had to be followed to acquire a good or ward off an evil. Belief in magic is retained by many Westernized individuals. Several years ago, President Mobutu had a well-known witch doctor, who was to be put to death, transported on the presidential yacht. Mobutu would not use the yacht again until it had been cleansed by another witch doctor of possible curses.

Roman Catholicism is the most widely practiced Christian faith. Despite an early beginning—the first Catholic Church in the Congo was established in 1640 by the Portuguese—it was not until the advent of Belgian colonial rule early in this century that Catholicism expanded to become the single strongest religion in the country and one of the main pillars of colonial rule. The church has declined in power and appeal since independence because it waited almost too long to begin Africanization. In 1960, for example, there were no Congolese in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, the church remains one of the country's few national institutions, and its welfare services contribute significantly to stability.

A number of factors led the church to realize belatedly in the mid-1960's that it was out of touch with African needs, indeed that it had serious problems of credibility with the new forces at work in the country. Between 1955 and 1965, church leaders lost their role as spokesmen for one of the main pillars of society and were being bypassed by the new regime. Evidence that the church was identified in the popular mind with the hated colonial administration was found in the murder—often in brutal ways—of over 160 priests and nuns, both European and Congolese, during the 1964-65 rebellion. Finally, the number of baptisms, religiously celebrated marriages, and enrollments in seminaries fell off rapidly, indicating a sharp decline in adherence to Catholic tenets and church law. All three indexes declined by 50% between 1960 and 1965.

Since 1965 the church has been attempting to adapt. One of its major efforts has been to weed out older European priests who are conspicuously out of touch with the contemporary church. The first African to become an archbishop, Joseph Malula, was installed in 1964; by 1969, five of the six archbishops were Africans. The true center of power in the hierarchy is the bishopric, and by 1969, there were 26 African bishops while 21 were Europeans. This was a substantial change since 1966, when there were only 18 African bishops as compared to 31 Belgian and three other European bishops. According to figures in the 1969 *Catholic Yearbook*, the Congo had 8,179 priests, nuns, and lay brothers, an increase of about 1,000 over 1959. The total consisted of 6,248 Europeans and 1,931 Africans and included 2,300 priests of whom 600 were Africans. Apparently not all the Europeans were missionaries; the Kinshasa diocesan center reported in 1969 that there were 5,814 Catholic missionaries. Of the total, 36% were in the city of Kinshasa, 18% in Shaba Region, and the remaining 46% divided among five other regions—Kasai-Occidental, Kasai-Oriental, Equateur, Kivu, and Haut-Zaïre.

Despite the existence of six major and numerous minor seminaries, it has been difficult to recruit Zairians for the priesthood because of the requirement of celibacy and because the occupation is less prestigious than it was before independence. Women, however, are more willing to enter a convent because it is one of the few avenues of escape from village life. Another major problem is that Zairian priests must belong to the same tribe as their parishioners. A number of experiments which purposely mixed priests of varying tribal origin all ended disastrously. The



FIGURE 21. A Mongo woman possessed by evil spirits (U/OU)



FIGURE 22. A Mongo female witch doctor who specializes in ridding possessed women of evil spirits (U/OU)

result is that there are too many Zairian priests in some areas and not enough in others.

Relations between the Catholic Church and the Mobutu government are tense at times. At issue is the outspoken nature of the Archbishop of Kinshasa, Cardinal Malula (Figure 23), who on numerous occasions has publicly criticized the Zairian elite for their ostentatious consumption, contrasting their extravagance with the pressing needs of the huge masses of the poor and calling attention to the need for "distributive justice" in Zaire. The periodic political arguments between Malula and President Mobutu usually have been resolved by the Papal Nuncio. In February 1972, however, Malula had to withdraw temporarily to the Vatican in order to avoid threatened prosecution for his pastoral letter denouncing Mobutu's call for Zairians to replace their Christian names with personal names derived from African tradition. Malula is, incidentally, a Luba, a tribe Mobutu distrusts. He is also the most capable and distinguished Zairian prelate, and his elevation to

the College of Cardinals in 1969 added substantially to his authority by giving him prominence in Rome, rather than just in Kinshasa. The promotion indicated at least that Pope Paul VI was not displeased with the "people's bishop."

The Catholic Church in Zaire is closely affiliated with the Catholic Church in Belgium, one of the richest and most liberal in Europe and one which has been generous in the resources it has provided. Catholic projects in the educational and health fields have made a major contribution. For example, in 1966 over half a million primary school children and 50,000 secondary school children were in church-run schools. These school systems employ about a quarter of all priests, 40% of all nuns and lay brothers, 2,000 foreign teachers, and 30,000 Zairian teachers. The church's medical endeavors are similarly extensive; it runs two-thirds of the medical centers. It also has been active in sponsoring labor unions and supports an organization to upgrade Zairian managers.

Protestants have made much less impact than Catholics because few Belgians were Protestants. In



FIGURE 23. Cardinal Malula, Archbishop of Kinshasa (U/OU)

addition, their membership of 2 million is only one-third the number of Catholics, and it is divided among some 70 denominations. Some denominations are even further subdivided into competing churches based on tribal divisions. The largest groups are the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists.

Each Protestant denomination has its own system of organization, but all Protestant bodies in Zaire belong to an organization which coordinates the efforts of the various member churches and arbitrates their often acrimonious disputes. This umbrella organization was called the Congo Protestant Council (CPC) until March 1970, when a bare two-thirds of the membership, meeting in an annual assembly, approved a new constitution strengthening the CPC and changing its name to the Church of Christ of the Congo (now called Church of Christ in Zaire, ECZA). By the new rules, each member church is to retain autonomy on doctrinal questions, but the ECZA's secretary general is to speak for members on administrative matters. The impetus for the new constitution came from Secretary General Jean Bokoleale and other liberal Protestants. Conservative clergymen in Zaire and many of the parent congregations in the United States have strongly

opposed the union of the Protestant groups. The dispute between advocates and opponents of unity has some racial overtones in that the former are mainly Zairian and the latter are mainly white American fundamentalists.

Early in 1971, Bokoleale showed that he intended to strengthen the administrative functions of the ECZA over member churches. The prospect of a tightly unified ECZA provoked some relatively conservative members to withdraw and form a loosely organized counterpart to the ECZA, known as the Council of Protestant Churches in Zaire (CEPZA). In 1971, however, the Zaire Government recognized ECZA as the sole legal organization for all Protestants in Zaire, confronting the missionaries who had not joined with the choice of affiliating with ECZA or withdrawing from Zaire. Under these circumstances CEPZA was dissolved, and its former constituents joined ECZA. As of late 1972 the degree of autonomy that they could retain within ECZA remained undecided.

The Protestant groups have been more successful in Africanizing than have the Catholics, and most of their ministers and almost all of the lay staff are Zairians. They also find it easier to recruit clergy because they do not insist on celibacy, and their educational requirements are lower.

Although the social welfare activities are much less extensive than those of the Catholics, the Protestant groups together run about 250 mission stations, including schools, hospitals, clinics, and homes for old people and orphans.

Syncretism has been an important development in the Congo since the 18th century. The earliest known sect was founded in the Kongo area and led by a Zairian lady "saint" who was condemned by the Catholic Church as a heretic and burned at the stake in 1706. This sect was in effect a precursor of Kimbanguism, which is the most important contemporary syncretic movement, both in size and in political and social impact. There have been and are many other such sects, however, some with only a few hundred adherents.

Kimbanguism, which during the 1920's spread like wildfire through what is now Bas-Zaïre Region, was founded by Simon Kimbangu, a member of the Kongo tribe who had been converted several years earlier to Presbyterian beliefs. His original aim was to form an independent African church, but the church also became a resistance movement. Kimbangu soon became known not as a prophet but as a savior, and large crowds flocked to hear him speak and perform miracles. Because the colonial authorities felt threatened by Kimbanguism and all other similar

movements, they arrested him in 1921 and deported him to an Elizabethville (now Lubumbashi) prison, where he died 30 years later.

Although the sect was banned, legends about Kimbangu flourished, and the Kimbanguist movement continued to grow clandestinely. The ban was lifted in 1959, and Kimbangu's son, Diangienda, who was a U.S. leader grantee in 1965, is now the spiritual leader of Kimbanguism, which is estimated to have about 3 million members, mostly in the Kongo tribal region. Kimbanguism is also an important religion among the Kongo of neighboring Congo, who number some 400,000 and make up about 42% of that country's population. The church's headquarters are in Kamba (near Mbanza-Ngungu), a town in which one can almost feel the atmosphere of peace and tranquility which Kimbanguism engenders. The Kimbanguists are gentle and extremely kind and hospitable. They do not believe in war and do not condone drinking, smoking, or stealing. In 1969 the "Church of Christ on Earth by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu," as the Kimbanguist movement is formally known, became the first independent African church admitted to membership in the World Council of Churches.

Relations with the Mobutu government usually have been good, and Mobutu has himself supported the Kimbanguist movement since before independence, despite the fact that he is a Roman Catholic. The Kimbanguists seem primarily interested in maintaining the schools, clinics, social centers, and churches they have set up, all of which Mobutu has aided. During the 1968/69 school year there were 11,745 students enrolled in 770 schools of which 57 were secondary schools. Some Kongo tribesmen regarded former President Kasavubu as the reincarnation of Simon Kimbangu, and while he was President, Kasavubu never missed an opportunity to pay homage to the movement.

Kitawala, the second most important syncretic movement, is an offshoot of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society (Jehovah's Witnesses), which originated in the United States in 1874. It was introduced into South Africa and from there spread to what is now Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi (where President Banda proscribed it), Angola, and to the Congo in 1925, where it is now a movement quite distinct from the parent body. The colonial authorities considered the sect anti-European and banned it, but, like Kimbanguism, it continued to exist. It is doctrinally similar to Kimbanguism, particularly in its insistence on "Africa for the Africans." It has taken no interest, however, in encouraging cultural unity as Kimbangu-

ism has among the Kongo. The sect became centered in Haut-Zaire Region and was used by Patrice Lumumba to gain support for his political aspirations; it is now strongest in Shaba, Haut-Zaire, Kivu, and Equateur Regions. The basic precepts of the sect dictate distrust of missionaries, suppression of religious hierarchies, abandonment of all primitive superstitions, and a belief in the coming of a black messiah to save all Africans. There is no recent estimate on the size of its membership.

About 150,000 Muslims, primarily of the Sunni sect, are concentrated in eastern Zaire. They held their first Islamic seminar in 1969, during which the many Islamic associations in Zaire were merged, and there is some interest in holding an Islamic congress. A congress was actually planned for the first half of 1970 in Kasongo, Kivu Region, but government authorities refused to allow it to be held—for unstated reasons—in February 1970. The Greek Orthodox Church has about 3,000 members, mostly Greek traders in northeastern Zaire. There is a community of about 1,000 Sephardic Jews centered in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi.

H. Education (U/OU)

At independence, the Congo claimed the highest basic literacy rate on the continent. It also had the highest percentage of children in primary school and the best system of technical and vocational education among French-speaking African countries. However, only a tiny minority of the Africans who completed primary school were proceeding to secondary courses, and no more than 20 of them had won university degrees. The result was that the Congolese who assumed high positions at independence had little formal education, unlike some of their counterparts in French and British Africa.

The Belgians had planned to provide secondary and university education on a wider basis eventually, but their timetable stretched into the 1980's and beyond. An administrator in the Congo calculated—on the assumption that independence would have to await the training of the necessary personnel—that at the rate at which senior civil servants were being trained in 1952, it might have taken about 20 years for Nigeria, 60 years for Kenya, and perhaps 200 years for the Congo to gain independence. The Belgian policy of placing emphasis on traditional values not only prevented the development of educated leaders but also hindered the development of national unity and strengthened tribalism, still two of Zaire's most persistent problems.

To rapidly fill out the top levels of the educational pyramid would have been a formidable task at best for the newly independent government, but the task became virtually impossible when many of the Belgian advisers departed suddenly as a result of the breakdown in public order. In fact, the sudden exodus of Belgian administrative personnel in 1960 seriously disrupted the existing primary schools. Additional schools were closed during the next 5 years as a result of continual political turbulence and related disorders. Popular education received especially severe setbacks in northeastern Zaïre, where primitivist rebels systematically killed a large portion of the literate inhabitants, who were identified with the modern national government.

Nevertheless, the Zairians have made strenuous efforts to reconstruct the school system, and during the worst periods, in 1961 and 1962, primary school teachers exhibited extraordinary dedication, remaining at their posts despite the government's failure to pay them for 18 months. The independent govern-

ment's primary emphasis has been on a modern education in French, rather than on simple vocational instruction in the vernacular, which had been the pattern imposed by the colonial government. It also has worked to make the primary school system more uniform and to extend opportunities for higher education. Secondary schools and higher educational institutions have indeed multiplied at a phenomenal rate since 1960. It is equally true, however, that serious problems of education remain and that it will be at least another decade before the Zairians can begin to redress the imbalance caused by Belgium's education policy.

Despite postindependence efforts to adapt the educational system to national objectives, the curricular pattern generally follows the European model. It consists of a 6-year standardized primary course followed by several alternatives (Figure 24). Some students go on to a 4-year postprimary cycle which prepares them for employment as semiskilled craftsmen or as primary school teachers. Other

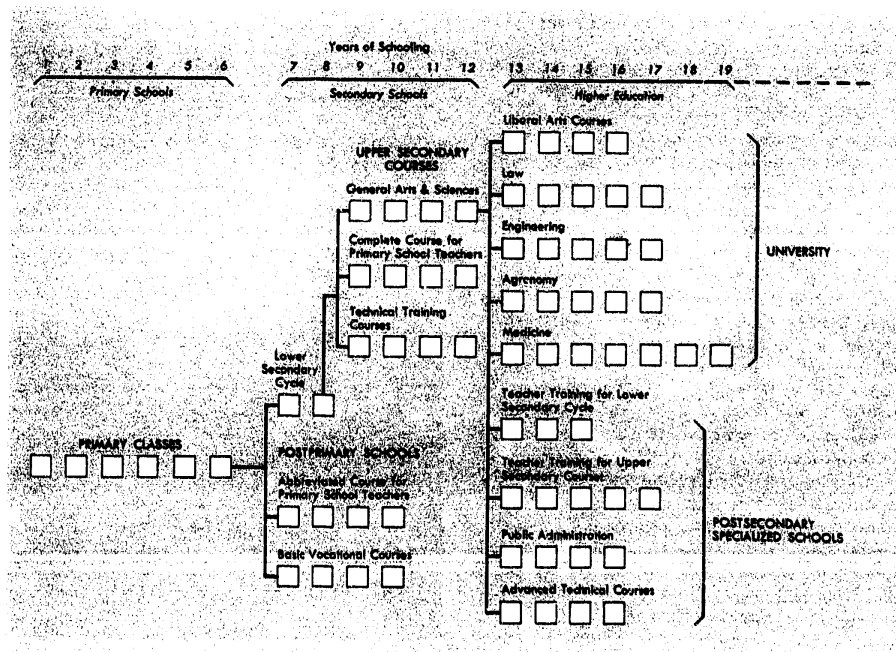


FIGURE 24. Educational system (U/OU)

primary school graduates enter a 6-year secondary cycle consisting of a standardized 2-year orientation course and then several 4-year courses. A general arts and sciences course leads to university or other postsecondary training, while specialized courses lead to employment as primary school teachers or as skilled technicians.

Public education is administered by the Department of National Education, but over 80% of primary and 50% of secondary pupils are in government-subsidized schools which are managed or staffed by religious organizations. The three types of schools are: state-operated schools, including so-called "congregational" schools staffed by religious bodies; state-subsidized schools which are operated by religious bodies; and independent, self-supporting private schools. The Department of National Education recruits and pays teaching staff and deals with all school planning, financing, curriculums, general administration, and inspection of secondary schools. The eight regional directorates under the department supervise teachers, organize examinations, and inspect primary schools.

The Department of National Education also is the main channel for disbursing funds to all educational institutions except the self-supporting private schools. In 1970 the department's current expenditures amounted to US\$31 million, or 21% of the government's current expenditures. Such a heavy outlay for education reflects President Mobutu's belief that a broadly based educational system is a prime means of fostering social cohesion and loyalty to the national government.

Despite the large outlays for the Department of National Education, schools are generally ill equipped. There is an overabundance of unqualified administrative staff, and coordination is poor between national and regional levels. Most of the budget is spent on salaries for administrative staff and teachers, and the balance is insufficient to buy adequate stocks of textbooks and supplies.

The annual average growth in primary school enrollment has been 6% since 1965; total enrollment was 2.8 million in 1970. Excluding overage pupils, the enrollment ratio of the 6-11 age group was 78%, an unusually high ratio for a developing country. Roughly 75% of those who enter school, however, fail to finish the primary level, and an average pupil repeats one grade out of three.

Underlying the national enrollment statistics are sharp contrasts between urban centers, where attendance rates are relatively high, and the more remote rural areas, where schooling is virtually

unavailable. Also, there is considerable disparity between school enrollment in the different regions. Kinshasa and the regions of Bas-Zaïre, Kasai-Occidental, Kasai-Oriental, and Shaba have above-average enrollments, while Bandundu, Kivu, and Haut-Zaïre are far below average. The disparities are unrelated to density of population. Furthermore, females have fewer educational opportunities than males, and sex inequity worsens in rural areas. For instance, the sex breakdown in primary school enrollment rates in 1969 varied from 53% boys and 47% girls in Kinshasa, to 70% boys and 30% girls in Haut-Zaïre Region, and 75% boys and 25% girls in Equateur Region. The lack of opportunity for females is not matched by a lack of interest in education. On the contrary, there is much evidence that females are intensely interested in availing themselves of whatever educational opportunities are offered (Figure 25).

The ineffectiveness of instruction in most primary schools is due to several factors. There are roughly 64,000 primary school teachers, but only 23% are fully qualified, and the teacher-pupil ratio is 1 to 44. The basic school equipment is poor in urban areas and usually nonexistent in rural areas. The largely academic curriculum, based on the European model, is poorly adapted to the African rural environment. Moreover, the use of French as the basic language of instruction, even in the lower primary grades, is an insurmountable obstacle for a large portion of rural children.

Primary pupils struggling to learn arithmetic and geography in French are the victims of an ideological controversy among Zairian educators and politicians. During the colonial period French was used only in the schools for children of Belgian residents, while



FIGURE 25. French class for women at night school in Kinshasa (U/OU)

schools for the Congolese used and encouraged the use of vernaculars. The Belgians repeatedly emphasized the utility of the native language because they believed the African had to develop along his own line. This policy differed from that of the French, who required the school systems in their colonies to use French as the language of instruction; they believed that the vernacular was a prison, holding back the African's intellectual development. In the primary school for Africans, French was taught only as a foreign language and not before the third year; it was not used as the basic language of instruction until students reached the secondary level. Since independence, most educated Africans have reacted against the Belgian language policy. Like the dominant groups in other French-speaking African countries, they regard mastery of French as the key to personal advancement and also regard tribal vernaculars as obstacles to national cohesion. Relatively few educated Zairians regard vernacular languages as elements of a traditional culture which should be preserved. Many rural schools, however, actually use local vernaculars in the early primary grades because available teachers are unqualified to present the officially prescribed lessons in French.

The present structure of secondary education, like the predominance of French in the primary curriculum, reflects a misapplication of the European model, largely motivated by a doctrinaire reaction against Belgian colonialism. Since the Belgian administration had withheld further education from the bulk of primary school graduates, Congolese national leaders have made it a prime goal to give qualified Africans the same opportunities for advancement that their Belgian rulers had enjoyed. In fact, since 1964 secondary enrollments have risen at an extremely rapid rate, roughly 18% per year. By 1970 total secondary enrollments were about 244,000, comprising roughly 11% of the 12-17 age group, or about 8% if overage students are excluded. The overall curricular structure is as follows, by enrollments according to types of courses:

Enrollments (1970):	
Lower secondary cycle	146,057
General secondary (arts and sciences)	34,361
Primary teacher training	34,532
Secondary technical courses	16,500
Industrial	5,300
Commercial	7,000
Agricultural and veterinary	1,700
Paramedical	2,500
Basic vocational courses	12,700
Total	244,150

Underlying the high total enrollment are two basic imbalances. First, over half of the total enrollment is in the lower secondary cycle, designed to prepare students for the several advanced courses. In fact, only one student in 10 entering a secondary school successfully completes the full 6-year cycle. Because students who meet the stiff entrance requirements for secondary school usually have the basic aptitudes for success, the low graduation rate is largely attributable to inadequate facilities, a lack of qualified Zairian teachers, and cultural gaps between students and foreign teachers. At the lower secondary level, 36% of some 8,000 teachers are foreign; at the upper secondary level, about 90% of some 1,300 teachers are foreigners. On the other hand, 80% of all Zairian teachers are only qualified to teach at the primary level.

The second imbalance in the secondary educational pattern is the low proportion of students who are preparing for careers where personnel shortages are most acute—particularly primary school teaching and basic technical occupations. It is generally recognized that the most important weakness of the whole educational system is the shortage of qualified primary school teachers, yet the secondary structure reflects inadequate efforts toward filling this shortage. Although some 40% of all students enrolled in grades 9-12 are following teacher training courses, few graduate, and those who do graduate tend to pursue other careers. The pattern of neglecting actual manpower needs is most extreme in the area of secondary technical training. Nominally there are 28 industrial training schools, but 10 were inoperative in 1971. Although some 5,300 students were taking industrial training in 1970, only 400 graduated. Despite the government's declared aim of improving rural living conditions, agricultural and veterinary training has been most neglected. For instance, 12 of the 21 preindependence agricultural schools were still closed in 1970.

The 4-year postprimary cycle, which produces semiquanlified primary school teachers and semiskilled craftsmen, was initiated in 1970 in order to bypass the conventional secondary courses at points where personnel shortages are most acute. In essence, the program takes primary school graduates who do not gain admission to conventional secondary schools and puts them directly into simplified versions of the teacher training and technical courses, eliminating the conventional secondary orientation cycle. This pragmatic approach is a promising start towards bridging the gap between the European model and the African environment. The existing postprimary

technical schools, however, are still too few and ill equipped to produce technicians in significant numbers, while the youths who graduate from such an abbreviated teachers training program can scarcely serve effectively without the qualified supervisors who are seldom present.

The pattern of inadequate resources—both human and material—devoted to teacher training extends upward through the postsecondary educational structure. Teachers for the lower secondary cycle are supposed to complete a 3-year postsecondary course at an Intermediate Teacher Training School (ENM). The existing 13 ENM's, however, are so ineffective that they barely begin to fulfill their purpose. In 1970 some 2,200 students were enrolled in ENM's, but only 279 graduated. Until the reorganization of higher education in late 1971, teachers for the upper secondary cycle were supposed to complete an additional 2 years at the Advanced Teacher Training School (ENS) in Djelo-Binza. In 1970, however, the ENS had only 107 students, only 10 of whom graduated. Furthermore, the few Zairians who graduate from the teacher training schools are prepared only to perpetuate the conventional academic curriculum. As of early 1972, Zaire had no training program for teachers in the secondary technical courses.

Such disparities between existing educational institutions and real personnel needs motivated, at least in part, the reform of higher education decreed by August 1971, although the immediate impetus was President Mobutu's reaction to unrest at the former Lovanium University. Before the reform, the higher educational structure comprised three universities—the Catholic University of Lovanium near Kinshasa, the Official University of the Congo at Lubumbashi, and the Protestant-sponsored Free University of the Congo at Kisangani. Also, there were 30 specialized postsecondary schools for training teachers, government administrators, and a variety of high-grade technicians. The specialized schools generally were providing more relevant professional training than the universities, but they had a total enrollment of only 4,100, compared with 6,075 in the universities, and student morale was generally poor. Both low attendance and poor morale were due primarily to the higher prestige associated with the universities—especially Lovanium—because of their adherence to the conventional, European university system.

The August 1971 reform of higher education brought all postsecondary institutions under one board of directors. This body is presided over by the State

Commissioner of National Education and includes additional government and MPR figures as well as senior Zairian academic officials and several prominent foreign educators. The newly constituted Zaire National University comprises the three former universities, redesignated as Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, and Kisangani campuses. Each academic discipline is to be offered at only one campus, with few exceptions. For instance, Kinshasa will offer most of the physical sciences, medicine, and law; Lubumbashi will offer the humanities, social sciences, and metallurgy; and Kisangani will offer the advanced educational courses, agronomy, and related biological sciences. Most of the existing specialized postsecondary schools, including the ENM's, remain as before, but several which had conducted the equivalent of advanced university courses are being incorporated into the university. The most important of these formerly autonomous schools, the National School for Administration, is being moved from Kinshasa to the Lubumbashi campus.

The sweeping reform reflects the mixed motives of an MPR-dominated committee on reform, appointed by Mobutu shortly after the Lovanium student demonstrations, and the first Congress of National Professors of Education, convened to consider the committee's report. Apparently Mobutu's immediate objectives were to squelch the elitist mentality which had prevailed at Lovanium and to banish from the capital area the social science courses which had tended to stimulate student agitation. He also seized the opportunity to curtail remnants of Belgian Catholic and American Protestant influences at Lovanium and Kisangani, respectively, to prevent the Kisangani and Lubumbashi campuses from becoming focal points of regional consciousness and to tighten his controls over the faculties as well as students. Hence the August reform initiated—and subsequent directives pushed along—such an extensive reshuffling of facilities that physical disarray continued for months after the November deadline for implementation. In late 1972, it remained to be seen whether the promising opportunities for more effective meshing of educational resources with national manpower needs would be realized.

The student demonstration in June 1971 which triggered Mobutu's decision to reorganize higher education was merely the latest of many clashes between the authorities and student organizations or spontaneous movements. In most instances, clashes have occurred because a small minority of doctrinaire oppositionists have rallied the majority of students by exploiting their personal frustrations resulting from generally inadequate educational facilities and living

conditions. Whenever a student strike or demonstration is suppressed and student leaders are arrested, most students fatalistically resume compliance with academic discipline. Student militancy is considerably dampened by the fact that most Zairian students are dependent on the government for scholarships and living allowances and also look to the government for satisfying postgraduate careers. Chronic administrative inadequacies, however, have slowed official efforts toward relieving student frustrations, so many students remain sullen and susceptible to exploitation.

The former Lovanium University has generated the most significant student movements, although other campuses have had their share of sporadic agitation, building seizures, and dean jostlings. The General Association of Lovanium Students (AGEL) was the strongest of independent student organizations, controlling all extracurricular activities until it was banned in 1969. In 1968 of that year most students at Lovanium went on strike in order to gain an increase in monthly living allowances. Some 400 students staged a demonstration in downtown Kinshasa, and at least a dozen were killed when troops dispersed the demonstration. Students throughout the country held sympathy strikes, and President Mobutu temporarily closed most of the secondary schools as well as the three universities.

When the schools and universities were reopened in October, all students were ordered to join campus units of the MPR youth wing (JMPR), and all other student organizations were banned. Most students met the orders with nominal compliance. JMPR claims universal membership, but with rare exceptions it has not won student support; organized extracurricular activities have been moribund.

Student frustrations under the JMPR monopoly of regular campus activities may have lent impetus to several sporadic protest movements on all three university campuses during 1970 and early 1971. None of these affairs brought more than temporary disruptions of academic routine until the June 1971 demonstrations at Lovanium commemorating the students who had been shot by troops in June 1969. Although the memorial ceremony was orderly and intervention by security forces resulted in mere scuffling, President Mobutu saw the affair as a serious challenge to his authority and announced that all Lovanium students would be inducted into the army for 2 years. In September, however, all student inductees except 13 who were imprisoned on subversion charges were ordered to resume their studies, although they remained under lenient military

discipline. The inductees who returned to campus had undergone 3 months of rigorous basic training with negligible instances of insubordination, and most have submitted quietly to regular drills in the newly formed campus army units. Apparently their adjustment to military discipline has been somewhat helped by the fact that army pay is higher than their former student stipends.

Zairians studying abroad have been few in number compared with students from former French or British territories. During the colonial period the Belgian administration allowed few Africans to study abroad, even in Belgium, because it was assumed that the foreign experience would instill anticolonial attitudes. When independence became imminent, a belated effort was made to place Congolese in foreign universities and advanced technical schools to compensate for the paucity of facilities for higher education at home. By late 1960, however, less than a thousand Africans were known to be taking secondary or postsecondary courses abroad. Their number increased during the early 1960's, with a large portion going to Belgium. In December 1969 there were 4,300 Congolese students in Belgium, but only 730 were in universities. There also were about 470 in other foreign universities, making a total of some 1,200 university students abroad.

The educational reform of August 1971 included a directive that all those studying abroad must return home if their educational objectives could be met through courses available locally. Exemptions were to be made, however, for individuals who were studying abroad under the auspices of a technical assistance program. In October 1971 a Zairian official estimated that some 800 Zairians were being recalled from foreign study, apparently reflecting in part the government's concern over student exposure to foreign political influences.

I. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Zaire is one of the great art areas of Africa and, indeed, of the world, as is evidenced by examples, now preserved in museums, of sculpture and handicrafts produced by tribal societies. Prior to the Belgian colonial era, the area had full-time sculptors and craftsmen who produced woodcarvings, bronzes, pottery, musical instruments, and woven raffia cloth. With European penetration of the area in the late 19th century, Congolese art aroused considerable interest in Europe and elsewhere, in particular among the Impressionists and Cubists in France. Some of Picasso's finest work was heavily influenced by the



FIGURE 26. Carvings made in an art workshop in Tshikapa showing the harvest and preparation of food and other everyday activities (C)

Congolese art brought to Europe. For the most part, traditional forms of artistic endeavor no longer flourish, and works of art that preserve the traditions are rarely found. There were, however, a few workshops set up during the colonial period which produced traditional art (Figure 26). Some of these, in Kinshasa and Mshene, are still in operation. Contemporary Zaire artists are likely to work in modern Western ways, using their African heritage as a source of inspiration.

Although excellent art examples are found throughout the country, the southern and western areas seem richer in historic treasures. Especially fine artwork has been discovered among the Kongo people of the lower Zaire area, the Kuba in Kasai-Occidental, and the Luba in Shaba. Experts have defined five distinct stylistic regions in Zaire, including these three areas, plus the northeast and the northwest.

The Kuba people show universal respect for and attachment to their traditional art. The finest of their artistic productions are the effigies of the rulers or kings (*nyimi*) which were carved during the ruler's lifetime and used after his death to preserve the royal power and wisdom in his successor. Figure 27 shows a fine portrait statue, in wood, of one of a long line of Kuba kings, King Bom Bosh, who reigned from 1650 to 1660; there is little doubt that this statue was made in his lifetime. The style of these figures seems to be the result of the importation of many ideas from the Kingdom of Kongo in the 16th century. The posture of the Bom Bosh figure has a remarkably similarity to that of stone and wood figures made by the Kongo people.

The mask shown in Figure 28 is a superb example of Luba carving. The hemispherical form so typical of Luba art is retained despite the semirealistic approach.

Female caryatid stools, created as thrones for chiefs, are frequently fine examples of native art. Consistent features of the caryatid figures are body scarification and an elaborate coiffure, both of which correspond to and influence actual practice (Figure 29). Figure 30 is an example of how masks are used, not displayed in isolation but worn as a part of a costume in an important ceremony accompanied by music and dancing. This particular example indicates Luba influence on the Tshokwe (Chokwe), specifically in the similarity of the eyes as shown in Figure 28.

The admirably subtle style of the wood sculpture in Figure 31 appears to be characteristic of the Azande of Zaire, rather than the Azande of the Sudan who depend on other tribes for carvings. This woman and child figure and another in the Tervuren Museum in



FIGURE 27. Wooden portrait statue of King Bom Bosh. This 19 1/4 inch statue is in the Brooklyn Museum. (U/OU)

Belgium are the finest known examples of the Zaire Azande style. There is almost no evidence as to how the figures were used, but they were probably ancestor figures.

Wood sculpture, chiefly figures and masks, was common throughout Zaire. Some objects have a smooth, highly polished finish, while others are left in a rough-hewn state (Figure 32). Weaving, metalwork, and pottery making were flourishing handicrafts which supplied local needs. Older men of the Kuba tribe specialized in elaborately embroidered raffia cloth, known as "Kasai velvet." Metalwork, although practiced to some degree everywhere, was another specialty of the Kasai area. Statues, knives, jewelry, agricultural tools, weapons, bells, and gongs were forged of iron, copper, and local alloys. Parts of northeastern Zaire were famous for the outstanding quality of the pottery produced.

Across the country, singing is universal, both solo and in unison. Zairian music is highly rhythmic, harmony is not greatly developed, but most traditional choruses achieve simple harmonic effects. The Kimbanguist Choir of Kinshasa is well known for its sophisticated harmonies. Although styles of musical expression vary from region to region, a traditional performance of music in its most complete form will include village ensembles of musicians, singers, and dancers, accompanied by rhythmic clapping. The words of songs are important because of the message they convey. People living along the Congo River have long been known for their "talking drums" by which messages are transmitted over long distances. There is a variety of musical instruments including drums, xylophones (Figure 33), horns, flutes, and stringed instruments. One common instrument is the *esanza* or



FIGURE 28. This helmet-mask, framed by a special hairstyle which looks like two curved horns, is one of the highest expressions of Luba art (U/OU)



FIGURE 29. The Luba female caryatid figure is a symbolic ancestor figure conceived of as a link between the dead ancestors and the living chief, as an affirmation of the chief's power, and as an affirmation of ancestral continuity (U/OU)

Kisanzi), a sort of small portable piano consisting of a hollow wooden base to which the ends of metal or reed strips of varying thickness are fastened.

Although traditional art forms remain important, particularly in more remote areas, Western influence has had a profound effect on Zairian artists and intellectual expression. Oil painting began to develop in the urban centers in the late 1920's, stimulated by European painters in the area who exhibited and sold their works. Self-taught Africans have been improving their own techniques and have had some of their paintings shown in Europe. The first Congolese art school was established in Lubumbashi in the 1940's, and Kinshasa has had an institute for fine arts since

1950. Western-style music has been enthusiastically received by the Zairians who have come in contact with it. European-style cabarets with guitar-playing satirists or small bands are widespread and popular in urban centers. The popular style is based on the cha-cha-cha, which is so popular that the Luba refugees from Kasai-Occidental founded a village by that name in Kasai-Oriental. Popular music also includes elements of the West African high life and American Rock. Several prominent Zairian composers have incorporated local tunes into their serious compositions with great success. Christianity also has influenced Zairian music and has been influenced by it. Perhaps the finest example of the rich music resulting from the interaction of the two cultures is the



FIGURE 30. Mask of a Tshokwe dancer (C)



FIGURE 31. This figure of a woman with a child is 23½ inches high. It is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. (U/OU)

Missa Luba, a Roman Catholic mass sung entirely in Congolese style by a choir of teenage Congolese boys who had been encouraged by a Belgian priest to use their traditional rhythm. The musical styles embodied in the *Missa Luba* are of the Luba and Lulua tribes in the Kasai area.

Traditional oral literature—rich in symbolism, metaphor, and allusion, conveying the point subtly and indirectly—still forms an integral part of life in the Zairian village. Every ethnic group possesses a wealth of stories, fables, and proverbs, and the telling of them has been a major means of transmitting from generation to generation the tribe's history, mores, principles, and traditions.



FIGURE 32. A mask worn by the Bapende in initiation rites (U/OU)

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Congolese folk literature was entirely oral. Educated Africans found writing a most fascinating part of European culture, and in their effort to emulate European forms, they tended to overlook their own rich oral heritage. Some of the oral literature is being written so that it will not be lost entirely as the country becomes modern. The first work of modern Congolese written literature was published in 1911, but little was done until the 1950's, when several fine writers emerged. In the post-independence years, the literary elite has been occupied



FIGURE 33. Native xylophone (U/OU)

with political activity and partisan journalism, and the art of writing for its own sake has been forced into the background.

J. Public information

Although word of mouth traditionally has been the major means of disseminating information, Zaire is rapidly acquiring modern communication systems. The impact of these new systems, however, has been hampered by the large size of the country and by a level of literacy which, although fairly high by African standards, is low by European standards. (U/OU)

1. Radio (U/OU)

Radio is the most significant modern medium in terms of audience size and geographic coverage. There are eight radio stations located throughout Zaire in the cities of Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Kisangani, Mbandaka, Bukavu, Kananga, Kikwit, and Mbuji-Mayi. There are 16 shortwave transmitters ranging in power from 5 to 100 kilowatts and two medium-wave transmitters. In 1970 three new transmitters, of which one is shortwave and two are medium wave, were installed in Haut-Zaire Region. There are probably well over 800,000 receivers. Wired speakers, often installed by the government in public places in smaller towns, increase the total listening audience to approximately 1.9 million.

National Zairian Radio-Television presents extensive radio programming for both Zairian and foreign listeners. The main station at Kinshasa presents domestic programming for all parts of Zaire 24

hours a day, and this is supplemented by broadcasts from six regional services, each of which is on the air several hours a day. Some of the regional programs are simply rebroadcasts of Kinshasa programs, but others are tailored to the interests of the local audience. Broadcasts for the Zairian audience consist mostly of music and news and are presented in French, Tshiluba, Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili, and other Zairian vernaculars. The Kinshasa domestic service also devotes a small part of its output to an audience in Angola, presenting programs produced by Holden Roberto's exile organization, GRAE, in Portuguese and Angolan vernaculars. Some Zairian listeners with ordinary mediumwave radios can also tune in the powerful French Government transmitter in neighboring Congo, the Congo Government's own radio, and the Zairian Government radio. The French Government transmitter, an affiliate of the French Radio and Television Service, relays programs from Paris and does not carry any local news.

In early 1972, Zaire presented programs averaging some 50 hours weekly, for an audience in other parts of Africa and in Europe. These programs consist largely of news and comment in French, Swahili, English, and Portuguese.

Surveys made early in 1968 in Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, and Bukavu showed that the audiences of these major cities generally preferred to hear news, especially of Zaire, modern Zairian music, and programs on health. However, the Lubumbashi and Bukavu audiences—and to a smaller degree that of Kinshasa—were critical of local newscasts, which they considered to be lacking in objectivity in some cases.

2. Television (U/OU)

The government has attached great importance to television as a symbol of Zairian technical advancement and is seeking to have countrywide coverage as soon as possible.

Local TV broadcasting began in late 1966 at Kinshasa. A second more powerful transmitter (10 kilowatts) became operational in the capital in November 1969 and increased reception to about 60 miles. In early 1972, programs were offered each day for 4 hours in the evening with an additional 3 hours of programs on Sunday afternoon. The programming includes local news, musical programs, and foreign movies. Programs from nearby Brazzaville can also be received by television sets in the Kinshasa area. The Lubumbashi facilities, an outgrowth of university programming, were inaugurated in November 1967 but are still skeletal and handled by a small staff. This service depends almost entirely on filmed materials

supplied by Kinshasa. In 1969, there were about 17,000 television sets in Kinshasa and 3,000 in Lubumbashi. The total number of viewers may be over 100,000. Presumably the sets in Lubumbashi can be geared to receive local transmissions from Zambia. Kinshasa viewers, estimated to be as many as 60,000 also can receive programs from Brazzaville. The recent inauguration of a ground station for satellite transmission will make it possible for Zairian television to program world events as they occur.

3. Press (C)

Zaire has had a plethora of publications since independence, the majority of which disappeared after several issues for lack of funds. Very few have gained respectability—or high credibility—by virtue of good journalism and long existence, and only a handful have the added luster of preindependence origin. In 1972 there were some 50 newspapers and periodicals with an estimated combined circulation of over 200,000 (Figure 34). However, the total readership is much larger, as each issue is usually read by 10 to 15 persons. Most newspapers and periodicals are published in Kinshasa, a half dozen or so in Lubumbashi, and the rest in smaller towns. A few dailies and weeklies have fairly wide distribution throughout the country.

Most Zairian newspapers cannot survive without subsidies. For a period of over 2 years, several papers received heavy subsidies from the government—particularly from Mobutu himself—and therefore frequently had to carry progovernment articles and blatant progovernment propaganda. All but the former *L'Etoile* had their subsidies cut drastically or completely in mid-1968 and presumably found other backers in order to exist. As part of the 1972 authenticity campaign, the newspapers have adopted Zairian names, such as *Salongo* and *Elombe*.

The 1967 constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but in actuality the government controls the content and tone of the press by various punitive measures. Although prepublication censorship is not practiced, material offensive to the government may be countered by seizure of a particular issue of the publication, banning a publication for a certain period or permanently, or arrest of the writer or publisher involved. Virtually all publications have felt the effect of such repressive actions, and their publishers tend to be cautious. In general, the Mobutu government has tolerated mild criticism of the government's performance and some faultfinding with lower ranking officials, but it has been sensitive to criticism directed at the President or his top colleagues.

FIGURE 34. Partial list of newspapers and periodicals, 1972 (U/OU)

NAME	CIRCULATION	WHERE PUBLISHED	REMARKS (ALL ARE PUBLISHED IN FRENCH UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)
Dailies:			
ELIMA (formerly Le Courrier d'Afrique).....	20,000	Kinshasa.....	Zaire's oldest newspaper, although publication lapsed from January 1970 to April 1971; formerly oriented toward Catholic Church, moderate, and independent; since April 1971 editorials have been distinctly pro-Mobutu; emphasizes foreign affairs, with fairly extensive coverage of Zairian news.
MWANGA (formerly La Depeche).....		Lubumbashi.....	Affiliated with <i>Salongo</i> of Kinshasa; occasionally critical of the regime.
TAIFA (formerly L'Essor du Zaire).....	8,000	.....do.....	Leftist and antigovernment, its editor has been frequently arrested, and the paper was suspended from April to June 1968.
MYOTU (formerly L'Etoile).....	18,000	Kinshasa.....	Successor to a paper begun in 1968; provides best available coverage of Kinshasa local news and is distributed in several other cities; editorials support Mobutu government.
SALONGO (formerly Le Progres).....	8,000	.....do.....	Founded prior to independence; pro-U.S. in tone; offers extensive news roundup in its weekend edition.
ELOMBE (formerly La Tribune Africaine).....	7,000	.....do.....	Coverage of Zairian news is somewhat less than coverage of foreign affairs; has a weekly sports special and a daily sports page; editorials avoid criticism of Mobutu government.
Weeklies:			
NKUMU (formerly Actualites Africaines).....	1,500	.....do.....	
AFRIQUE CHRETIENNE.....	20,000	.....do.....	Has the largest, most extensive geographical circulation; published by St. Paul Roman Catholic Mission.
L'ECHO DU KATANGA-Occidental.....		Katanga.....	Official provincial publication.
JUMA (This Week).....	5,000	Lubumbashi.....	Illustrated; published in Swahili only; affiliate of <i>Taifa</i> .
LEJA BULELA.....		Kinshasa.....	Published in Tshiluba and French; an informative educational paper.
MBANDAKA.....		Mbandaka.....	Official paper for Equateur Region.
DIONGA (formerly Panorama Africain).....		Kinshasa.....	
EPANZA (formerly Presence).....		.....do.....	Formerly <i>Presence Congolaise</i> ; begun during the 1950's, pro-Catholic, pro-Belgium and may still receive secret Belgian support; suspended by government from November 1968 to July 1969; took new name in October 1971; has column criticizing local abuses and asking authorities to correct them; has one page of religious news as well as other Zairian news and sports, but almost no foreign news.
LA PRESSE AFRICAINE.....	2,500	Bukavu.....	Began prior to independence and is one of Zaire's best edited papers; carries international news taken partly from its affiliate, <i>Salongo</i> .
UKWELI (formerly La Voix du Katanga).....		Lubumbashi.....	Editor was Tshombe's propaganda chief during the Shaba (Katanga) secession and has occasionally been in trouble for criticizing regional officials; includes commentary on international topics.
LA VOIX DU BAS-ZAIRE.....		Matadi.....	Official provincial publication.
LA VOIX DU KWILU.....	3,000	.....do.....	Concentrates on local news of former Kwilu Province (now the central part of Bandundu Region).
ZAIRE.....		Kinshasa.....	Illustrated, attractively written magazine, published by Concordia Publishing House, Kinshasa; reportedly subsidized by Department of Information; aimed at educated Africans in Zaire, in other central African countries, and in Europe; stresses international sports and also has frequent feature articles on Zairian social problems with emphasis on Mobutu's corrective measures.

FIGURE 34. Partial list of newspapers and periodicals, 1972 (U/OU) (Continued)

NAME	CIRCULATION	WHERE PUBLISHED	REMARKS (ALL ARE PUBLISHED IN FRENCH UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)
Other:			
ANTILOPE.....	22,000	.....do.....	Intended to appeal to young people. Biweekly.
CARIERS ZAÏROIS.....	.....	.....do.....	Formerly <i>Etudes Congolaises</i> ; publication of the National Office of Research and Development (ONRD) dates back to 1957 and now consists primarily of studies by professors at Zaïre University on political, economic, and sociological matters. Quarterly.
CARIERS ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIAUX.....	.....	.....do.....	Published by Zaïre University Institute of Economic and Social Research; first appeared in 1962. Quarterly.
CONTINENT.....	2,000	.....do.....	Attractive, well-illustrated magazine appears in French and English; concentrates on education and sports; began in October 1969 with top editorial staff permanently located in Paris. Monthly.
EVA.....	7,000	.....do.....	Appears in French and Lingala; an apolitical women's magazine; intended primarily for the Kinshasa area. Semimonthly.
Hodi (May I Come In).....	20,000	.....do.....	Swahili paper published by the Roman Catholic White Fathers Mission; features simplified material intended for an audience in Zaïre, Rwanda, and Burundi. Semimonthly.
LOROLE.....	.....	.....do.....	Appears in French, Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba, Kikongo; published by the Department of Culture and Arts. Semimonthly.
LOLAKA YA ARMEE ZAÏROIS.....	20,000	.....do.....	Official FAZ newspaper; includes feature articles, letters from military personnel, and advertising. Semimonthly.
MONITEUR ZAÏROIS.....	.....	.....do.....	Official government bulletin; publishes texts of laws and decrees, and also personnel appointments in the civil service, police, and army; semimonthly.
MWANA SHABA (Coppersmith).....	30,000	Lubumbashi.....	Published in Swahili and French; an attractive 16-page illustrated newspaper published by GECAMINES for its employees. Semimonthly.
NOUVELLE DE L'UNTZA.....	.....	Kinshasa.....	Mimeographed newsheet of about 6 pages intended for union members. Monthly.
OPINIONS ECONOMIQUES.....	.....	.....do.....	Content pertains to commerce, agriculture, and industry.
PROBLEMES SOCIAUX ZAÏROIS.....	.....	Lubumbashi.....	Publication of the Center for Studies of Indigenous Social Problems; usually runs over 100 pages. Quarterly.
LA TRIBUNE DIPLOMATIQUE.....	.....	Kinshasa.....	Monthly counterpart of <i>Klombe</i> ; about 12 pages concentrate of Africa-wide and international developments; also has articles on Zaïrian economic affairs.
CARIERS DES RELIGIONS AFRICAÎNES.....	.....	.....do.....	Scholarly articles on African religions. Semiannual.
ZAÏRE AFRIQUE: ECONOMIE, CULTURE, VIE SOCIALE.....	.....	.....do.....	Journal of the Center of Social Action Studies (CEPAS); first published in 1960. Monthly.
ZAÏRE MAGAZINE.....	5,000	.....do.....	Slick paper, illustrated magazine begun by the Department of Information in 1968. Monthly.

As Figure 34 indicates, the government directly or indirectly published several newspapers in 1972. In addition to the central and regional government bulletins, the regime reportedly provides most of the financial support for the weekly *Zaire*, the bilingual *Continent 2000*, and the monthly *Zaire Magazine*, although *Zaire* and *Continent 2000* do not acknowledge government sponsorship. All are well-illustrated magazines, designed to appeal to a sophisticated audience, particularly abroad.

The Zairian Press Agency (AZAP), as the official and major news source, transmits news 24 hours a day to 15 outlets throughout the country. It employs nearly 100 journalists and has news exchange agreements with AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters, TASS, and other foreign news agencies. In mid-1969, the Minister of Information announced that the new AZAP board of directors included 11 publishers and that eventually all newspaper publishers would be added to the board. Material issued by the AZAP includes occasional attacks on minor administrative problems, such items serving not only to spur remedial action by local officials concerned, but presumably also to divert the population's attention momentarily from more important shortcomings of the regime.

Several foreign news agencies are represented. AFP is probably the main news source after AZAP, providing the latter with most of its international coverage; at least in earlier years, the AFP was also the one foreign agency whose news items usually received attribution. Representation of the Soviet agency TASS and Moscow newspaper *Pravda* began toward the end of 1968, following the resumption of Congolese-Soviet relations. The other agencies, in addition to UPI and Reuters, are: African Documentation and Information Agency (DIA), a Catholic news agency whose material has generally enjoyed acceptance and attribution by Zairian newspapers; the Belgian Information Agency (INBEL), once the major outlet in Zaire but now with a lesser role; and the West German Press Agency (DPA), playing an increasing role in news dissemination as a result of excellent Zairian relations with West Germany. In addition, United States Information Service (USIS) news items are frequently accepted for use by Zairian newspapers. Although AZAP exchanges news with the major English-language wire services—AP, UPI, and Reuters—these services are not represented in and do not maintain offices in Zaire.

4. Other media (U/OU)

Two other channels for public information are books and commercial films. In 1967, there were 13 bookstores, nine book publishers and printers, and

three book distributors in the Congo. Book sales are presumably small because of the low economic and literacy levels. There were nearly 700 libraries in 1967 with an estimated 807,000 library books, or 5.3 books per 100 population. The largest of these is the library of Zaire National University, Kinshasa, which contains over 200,000 volumes. The USIS operates a 4,000-volume library in Kinshasa and branch libraries in Lubumbashi, Kisangani, and Bukavu. The Kinshasa library alone averages 6,000 to 8,000 visitors and over 1,000 books borrowed each month. There are French cultural centers in both Kinshasa and Lubumbashi with libraries and movie projection facilities, and the United Kingdom offers similar library facilities. Because most of the library facilities are located in the larger towns, few rural Zairians have access to books.

There were 56 indoor motion picture theaters in 1967, as well as 210 other projection sites, some of them outdoors. The indoor seats totaled 17,500 or about one seat per 1,000 population. According to surveys made in early 1968 in three major cities, including Kinshasa, motion pictures were seen at least once a month by 72% of all students, 60% of the teachers, and 57% of the white-collar workers and executives (including government officials). For some persons the cost of seeing a movie in a theater may equal a day's wage, thus restricting the impact of the medium. Almost all motion pictures are imported, primarily from Europe. Most of the films are old and of poor technical quality; the U.S. films are generally grade-B westerns dubbed in French. The USIS has been instrumental in making high-caliber documentary films available to the Zairians at fairly low cost. A small film industry (Luluafilm) developed in Luluabourg (now Kananga) in the 1950's; short subjects and documentaries were produced. In the 1960's, a few documentaries and one imaginative work (*Vers l'Unité du Congo*) were done in Kinshasa. Efforts are now being made to revive the medium in Kinshasa.

K. Suggestions for further reading (U/OU)

1. Books

Biebuyek, Daniel, and Douglas, Mary. *Congo, Tribes and Parties*. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1961. Short pamphlet; describes some of the tribes, the complex nature of tribal relationships, and the consequent difficulties of forecasting political loyalties.

Cornevin, Robert. *Histoire du Congo Leopoldville-Kinshasa*. Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault, 1966. This

standard full-length history of Zaire includes a more comprehensive description of the major precolonial tribal kingdoms than is available in English.

Fagg, William. *African Sculpture*. Washington, D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation. 1969. Catalog of a major exhibition of African sculpture shown in various U.S. cities in 1970.

Golan, Tamar. *Educating the Bureaucracy in a New Polity*. New York: Teachers College Press. 1968. A case study of the National School of Administration in Kinshasa by an Israeli who taught there during the 1962/63 academic year.

Lemarchand, Rene. *Political Awakening in the Belgian Congo*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1964. Includes chapters on the traditional society, foreign influences (Arab and Belgian), the consequences of Western economic forces, the educational system, religion and the influence of messianic movements, as well as a full and careful discussion of the development of political parties and forces.

Merriam, Alan P. *Congo: Background of Conflict*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1961. The first three chapters provide a quick introduction to the country's history and ethnic makeup.

Turnbull, Colin M. *The Forest People*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1961. Describes the pygmies of

the Ituri Forest in the Congo, with whom the author, an anthropologist, lived for 3 years as a friend. The dexterity with which the book is written tends to make the reader forget the arduous field work that is its bedrock.

———. *The Lonely African*. London: Chatto and Windus. 1963. In a series of factual biographies of real people living in the eastern Congo, the author presents a profound insight into the problems of transition which Africans face.

2. Other

Annuaire de la Republique Democratique du Congo. Kinshasa: Agence Havas. 1969. A combined guide and yearbook with over 500 pages of information on administration, legislation, commerce (including a list of business firms), communications, transportation, schools, hospitals, and other subjects.

Since independence there have been no reliable statistical yearbooks published on the Congo. U.N. *Statistical Yearbook* contains a small amount of fairly reliable data.

Missa Luba, a mass sung in pure Zairian style, including native songs of Zaire. Phillips recording monaural PCC 206, distributed through Mercury Record Corp.

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Glossary (u/ou)

ABBREVIATION	FOREIGN	ENGLISH
AGEL	Association Generale des Etudiants de Lovanium	General Association of Lovanium Students
AZAP	Agence Zairaise de Presse	Zairian Press Agency
CASOP	Caisse de Solidarite Ouvriere et Paysanne	Workers and Peasants Solidarity Fund
CEPZA	Conseil des Eglises Protestantes au Zaire	Council of Protestant Churches in Zaire
CGTC	Confederation Generale des Travailleurs Congolais	General Confederation of Congolese Workers
CPC	Conseil Protestant du Congo	Congo Protestant Council
ECZA	Eglise du Christ au Zaire	Church of Christ in Zaire
ENM	Ecole Normale Moyenne	Intermediate Teacher Training School
ENS	Ecole Normale Supérieure	Advanced Teacher Training School
FEZ	Federation des Entreprises du Zaire	Federation of Businesses of Zaire
INBEL	Institut Belge d'Information et de Documentation	Belgian Information and Documentation Agency
INSS	Institut National de Securite Sociale	National Social Security Institute
JMPR	Jeunesse du Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution	Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution
MPR	Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution	Popular Movement of the Revolution
ORTF	Office de Radio-Television Francaise	French Radio and Television Service
UGEK	Union Generale des Etudiants Congolais	General Union of Congolese Students
UNTZA	Union Nationale des Travailleurs de la Republique du Zaire	National Union of Zairian Workers

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